

VOTES FOR WOMEN

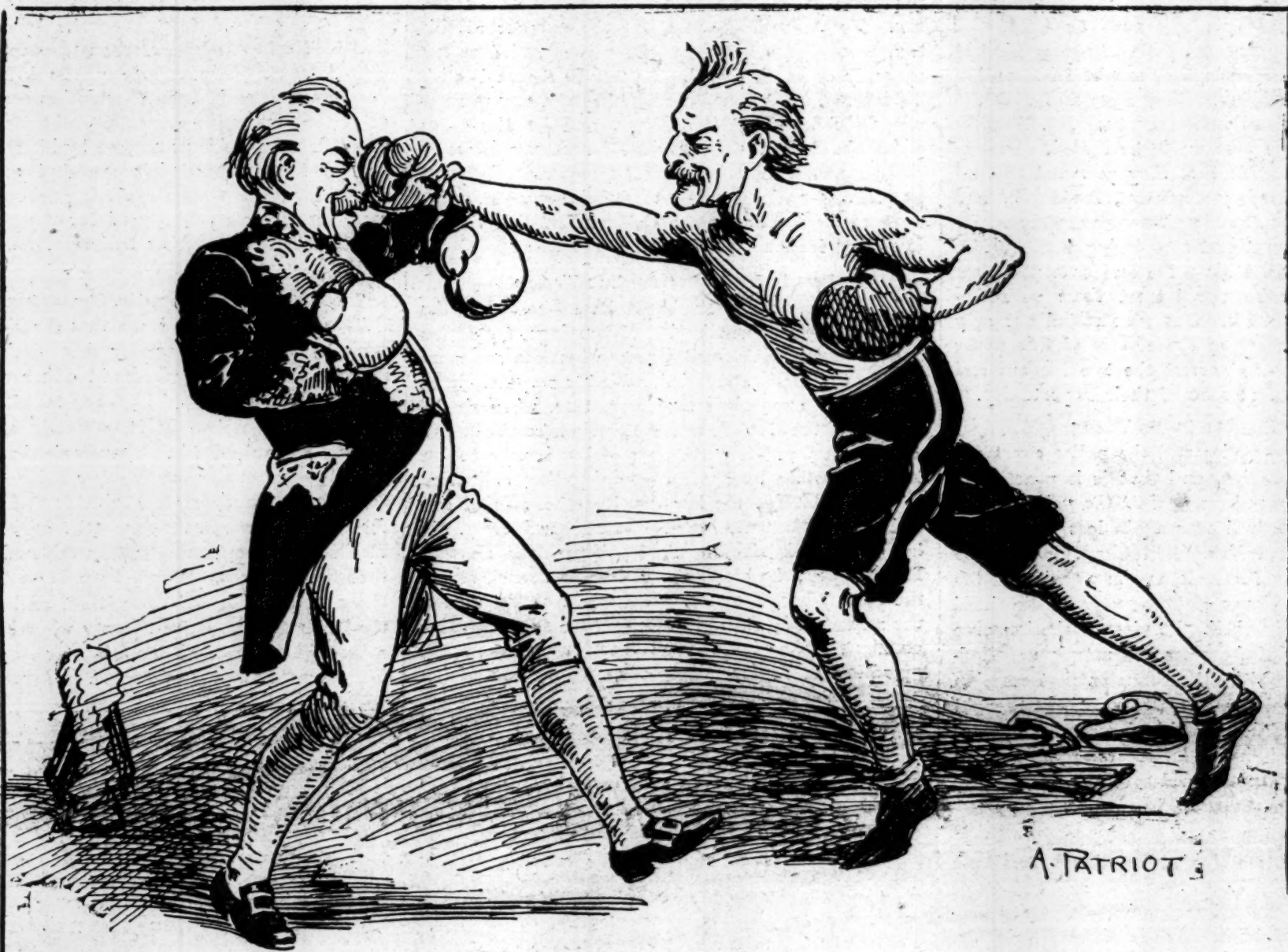
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MR. LLOYD GEORGE HITS OUT—AT HIMSELF



LLOYD GEORGE, DEMOCRAT, TO LLOYD GEORGE, CABINET MINISTER: "Take that, and go and learn what real Democracy means."

"They have overlooked the daring and indomitable love of liberty which has inspired men of British blood throughout the ages. . . . They are negotiating a revolution in this kingdom, and they are doing so with all the blind, headlong recklessness which has invariably characterised those who insist on retaining privileged positions in an age where all classes are possessed by manlier ideas than those which make privileges tolerable."—Mr. Lloyd George at Carnarvon.

CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
Our Cartoon	649	Mr. Lloyd George Condemns	
The Outlook	649	Himself	655
Women Workers and the		The Destruction of the Indi-	
Vote. By Antonia Moser..	650	vidual Liberty. By John	
George Lansbury Goes to		Scurr	655
Prison	651	Maternity Benefit	656
A Parallel to Dickens. By		Violence of the Police	656
Winifred Holiday	652	Cabinet Minister's Meeting	
A Deputation of Clergy to the		Broken Up	657
Prime Minister	652	Causes of Infantile Mortality	
VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellow-		ship	657
ship	653	Correspondence	658
Self-Condemned	654	General News	659

DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

In spite of the presence of the holiday season, the battle for the enfranchisement of women is still raging without sign of abatement. Mr. George Lansbury has been added during the week to the list of victims of the Cat and Mouse Act; and a significant deputation, headed by the Bishop of Lincoln and the Bishop of Kensington, are persisting in an

interview with the Prime Minister, in spite of his refusal to see them.

Mr. George Lansbury

We announced last week the decision of the Judges with regard to Mr. Lansbury, with its sequel of imprisonment in default of finding sureties. Mr. Lansbury was sent to Pentonville Gaol, and at once commenced the hunger strike. On Saturday he was released in a very weak state under the Cat and Mouse Act, his license specifying Monday, August 11, as the date for his return to prison. Questioned in the House of Commons by Mr. Wedgwood on Thursday in last week, Mr. McKenna explained that Mr. Lansbury was an unconvicted prisoner confined in Pentonville under process of law, and that he saw no reason to interfere with the period of detention.

A Menace to Human Liberty

No words are adequate to express the indignation which we feel, both on the broad grounds of public policy and on the personal grounds of our regard for Mr. Lansbury. The public danger implied by the form of procedure adopted in Mr. Lansbury's case is admirably stated on page 655 of this issue by Mr. John Scurr, a member of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship, who is himself liable to imprisonment under it. Any vigorous critic of the Government of the day may find himself arraigned before

a magistrate for the use of extravagant language, and on the testimony of a single policeman, who has selected a few isolated words from his speech, sent to prison in default of agreeing to be bound over. By this process trial by jury is entirely superseded. What is perhaps still more serious is that the whole process is optional in the hands of the Government, who may either put it in motion as they have done against George Lansbury, or withhold it as they have done in the case of Sir Edward Carson, in spite of the fact that he is repeatedly making speeches encouraging illegality and boasting of the fact. Such an optional procedure is a subordination of justice to the exigencies or fears of the men in power.

Unconditional Release Demanded

We desire also to protest emphatically against the application to George Lansbury of the provisions of the Cat and Mouse Act, and to demand, in common with a great mass of men and women, his unconditional release. Here is a man whose generous and noble character is universally recognised—even by the members of the House of Commons. He has already paid an exceptionally heavy penalty for any words he may have used. During three months of suspense he has kept his mouth even from good words, as the Psalmist expresses it; he has then been sent to prison and has endured the anguish of hunger and starvation, until the prison authorities

have not dared to keep his weakened body longer without food. Surely it is the duty of Mr. McKenna under these circumstances to grant unconditional release. But he has chosen instead the vindictive course of applying his barbarous Act to this chivalrous foe. History will visit his conduct with the condemnation it deserves.

Another Week of the "Cat and Mouse"

Of the other prisoners under the Cat and Mouse Act, Miss Annie Kenney and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst were both released in an exhausted condition on Friday night, while on the same day Mr. Robson Paige was rearrested, to be released again on Wednesday last. Miss Mary Richardson was released for the third time on Sunday. No attempt has been made to rearrest Mrs. Pankhurst, though her license has expired and though she spoke at the Kingsway Hall meeting of the Women's Social and Political Union last Tuesday afternoon. Her condition of health on that occasion was such that one who knows her intimately says she was quite unrecognisable.

Mr. Asquith and the Bishops

It was to present their views upon this cruel and inhuman Cat and Mouse Act that an influential deputation of clergy, including the Bishop of Lincoln and the Bishop of Kensington, sought an interview with the Prime Minister. They were met with the customary curt refusal indicating that Mr. Asquith thought no good purpose would be served. To this they replied with spirit that they proposed to wait upon him on Thursday afternoon, August 7, and when we went to press Suffragists were eagerly awaiting news of the event and speculating whether Mr. Asquith would pocket his pride and consent to see them, or whether he would treat them with discourtesy and violence (such as were meted out only a fortnight ago to one of the editors of this paper and her colleagues) and arrest the two Bishops and the other clergy on account of their importunity.

The Police Can Do No Wrong

The fact that the police and the police court are all part of one machine, and that it is practically hopeless to procure redress against the police in the police court was proved over again last Wednesday at Bow Street when Mrs. Cecil Chapman's charge against P.C. 459A of assault on the occasion of the deputation to the House of Commons was dismissed by Mr. Graham Campbell. In view of the immense mass of testimony of the gross and utterly uncalled-for violence employed by the police on that occasion it is amazing that the magistrate, even if he thought that the identity of the individual constable was not established, should have failed to pronounce a weighty censure upon the action of the police force towards Mrs. Chapman and other ladies.

Interrupting Cabinet Ministers

Mr. Runciman's meeting at Wimborne on Bank Holiday was completely disorganised, and had to be abandoned owing to the interruption of Woman Suffragists, who made a demonstration immediately Mr. Runciman rose up to speak. The interruptors were almost torn limb from limb by the infuriated stewards. Mr. Asquith, speaking at the conference on consumption, was also interrupted several times by men and women. Cabinet Ministers who refuse to do justice and who close all the ordinary avenues of approach cannot complain if voteless women and men who support them take the only opportunities available of bringing home to Ministers the unconstitutional character of the resistance which they are offering to the enfranchisement of women.

Married Women's Employment Threatened

An important event of the week has been the attack delivered by Mr. John Burns, under cover of a conference on infant mortality, upon the paid labour of married women. We desire to warn any of our readers who may be disposed to regard this as a sign of a genuine concern for the welfare of the young that it is in reality a sinister move with a totally different object. Investigations carried out a few years back proved three things: Firstly, that infant mortality in mining districts where women do not go out to work was as high as in the cotton districts where they do; secondly, that in the same district infant mortality was as high or higher in families whether the mother stayed at home as where she went out to work; and thirdly, that mal-nutrition of the mother immediately preceding and following childbirth was the most potent cause of the waste of child life.

A Question for Mr. Burns

Under these circumstances, the arbitrary prohibition of the better-paid branches of married women's labour, such as we know Mr. Burns favours and which he has already largely impressed upon the

authorities with regard to the teaching profession, would not only not produce the results he claims, but would be positively injurious. The right path of reform is to secure to the mother some right to a share of the family income, but we are aware that there is no prospect of any such enactment in this country so long as women are denied the protection of the franchise. In the meanwhile, we will content ourselves with putting to Mr. Burns and those who think with him this question: "What do you propose to do for the widow if you prevent the wife from working for wages? Do you propose to provide for the widow, or do you propose to leave her to fight alone and unaided for herself and her children, after she has been utterly incapacitated from earning a living wage by being excluded for years from the labour market?" The Insurance Act, with its shameless abandonment of the widow and the orphan, has already supplied the answer.

Married Women's Income Tax

Another illustration of the refusal of the Government to deal justly with women is provided by the treatment of married women as regards income-tax. By the existing law, for the purpose of this tax, a married woman's property is regarded as the property of her husband. He has to return it with his income, he is assessed on it, he pays any tax not already collected at the source, and he alone can claim abatement. The law in this matter is sometimes regarded as being advantageous materially—if humiliating in its theory—to married women. But an examination of the facts shows that this view is in reality far from the truth.

How It Works Out Against Women

In the first place, it should be noticed that the law is in effect a penalisation of marriage, for a man and a woman with small separate incomes are more heavily taxed when married, with the responsibilities of a family upon their shoulders, than when single. Secondly, the law has the effect of compelling a wife to disclose full particulars of her income to her husband, while he has no corresponding obligation to her. Thirdly, the law deprives the wife of any claim to abatement, however small her income. If her husband is rich, no abatement will be allowed. If he is poor, he alone can claim abatement, and if the tax on her income has been paid at the source, the refund will be paid to him without any obligation on him to repay it to her; so that in such event the operation of the tax is to take money out of her

pocket and hand it over to her husband. Finally, if she is engaged in successful business and has to supply out of her profits the deficiency on his unsuccessful business, she cannot set his losses against her gains as he could do under reversed circumstances.

Mr. Lloyd George Obdurate

These facts have been fully laid before Mr. Lloyd George, who promised to give his consideration to them; but in his Finance Bill he has made no attempt to rectify the present injustice. An opportunity has been promised while the Bill is in Committee for the whole question to be raised in the House of Commons; we shall then see what line Mr. Lloyd George takes up. But in view of the fact that the debate has been driven up to the rag end of the session we are not sanguine of the result. We urge readers, however, to impress upon Members of Parliament the importance of this question, and we remind them that an able article dealing more fully with this question than we have been able to do in the preceding paragraphs appeared in VOTES FOR WOMEN for April 11 from the pen of Miss Amy Hicks.

"Hushing Up"

The *Globe* has done good service by calling attention to the hushing up of the names in the Queenie Gerald case. Considerable public indignation has been aroused, and Mr. McKenna has been questioned on the subject in the House of Commons. Of course, no fresh light has been thrown by his answers except on the fact that officials can find an excuse for everything; but women are being brought every day more clearly to see the need for the only constitutional method of making their will felt and obeyed in the government of the country.

The Maternity Benefit—Mr. Masterman Overruled

As we go to press we learn that the House of Commons by a narrow majority has decided that the maternity benefit may be paid either to the father or to the mother, but that payment shall not be made to the father unless he is expressly authorised by the mother to receive it. Though we should have preferred the clause as originally carried by the Select Committee, we regard this solution as far more satisfactory than that in the Act itself. It should be noted that Mr. Masterman definitely opposed the proviso that the money could only be paid to the father on the authorisation of the mother, and both he and the leaders of the Labour Party wished to leave payment to the father or the mother an open question. They were, however, overruled.

WOMEN WORKERS AND THE VOTE

By Antonia Moser

The advocates of Women's Suffrage base their claim on a number of different arguments; but probably the working woman, of whatever class, puts forward the strongest claim of all for enfranchisement, not only from a personal point of view, but from that of the entire community. Women are in the majority in this country, and those who have no natural claim upon men are expected to make themselves economically independent. Organised bodies of men have taken away all the old home industries, such as spinning, weaving, dying, tailoring, baking, brewing, pickle and preserve making, and therefore the worker is forced into the open labour market in order to earn her daily bread. There she is at once faced with keen competition. Now, we all know competition is good for trade, but it is very hard for the worker. In a struggle between employer and employed, sweated producer and consumer, the woman goes to the wall. Union and organisation have done something for her, but the Trades Unions will not admit her to membership until she is possessed of the lever of the Parliamentary vote. Trades Unionism, though far from perfect, has been productive of much good; where the workers' interests have been encroached upon, men, by the power of their unions, have been able to withhold a corporate vote from a member of Parliament or political party, and thus get a grievance redressed. The voteless woman is without this power, and she feels most poignantly her position. She always has to fight a losing battle when her legitimate interests come into collision with those of the voter.

Much nonsense is talked about the home being the woman's sphere, and the argument is used that woman's organisation being both nervous and delicate, she is only fitted for petty domesticities. But such arguments only apply to a very small and insignificant proportion of womenkind. There are thousands of school teachers, journalists, painters, actresses, hospital nurses, doctors, and matrons all doing excellent responsible work; hundreds of women are at the head of large business houses, either as principals or managers; forewomen and inspectors abound in the City of London; and, generally speaking, the average woman's capacity for

work compares very favourably with that of her male competitor.

But the woman who suffers most terribly under present labour conditions is the "out-pieced worker." Often she is married, with young children dependent upon her, and the wages and conditions under which she works are a disgrace to our civilisation. Her habitation is often an underground cellar, where the four operations of eating, sleeping, working, and dying go on perpetually. Her children, hungry and ill-clad, toil before and after school hours to assist her, and working early and late, she can possibly earn 7s. to 10s. per week. There are thousands of such women workers, who are the sweated slaves of an oppressive and infamous system to which employer, middleman, and customer alike contribute. The Government is also a sinner in this respect, as old soldiers' widows and daughters are employed in making (inclusive of buttons and button-holes) the heavy cloth trousers for soldiers and police, the payment being 14s. 6d. for twenty-five pairs. Working early and late, the skilled worker can earn possibly 20s. per week, but the average wage is 16s., and this for women with children dependent on them.

The woman worker desires the vote as a lever, in order to better the conditions of labour and wage. She asks for no special privilege, or, in fact, for anything but equal opportunities with men. She does not ask that a woman should become a barrister, solicitor, or civil servant, or, in fact, anything at all, simply because she is a woman, but because she has the mental qualification and can satisfy the necessary tests.

The woman's cause is building for the centuries, because only that which is the highest, the truest, the noblest and best will abide the test of the centuries. The woman is never afraid of the result, because she knows and realises that behind, within, and beyond her is the infinite love, wisdom, and justice of the divine life and force. Man in his arrogance and folly may attempt to stem the tide, but as in all heaven sent movements of reform every apparent failure only leads to success, and every earnest effort adds an increment of power that will eventually accomplish the end aimed at.

GEORGE LANSBURY GOES TO PRISON

On Wednesday, July 30, Mr. George Lansbury was committed to prison for three months for refusing to be bound over, by Sir John Dickinson at the Bow Street Police Court. After scenes of great indignation, both within and without Bow Street, Mr. Lansbury was removed to Pentonville Prison, where he immediately commenced a hunger strike. On Saturday afternoon in last week he was released under the Cat and Mouse Act, the licence mentioning August 11 as the day on which he should return to prison.

When released, Mr. Lansbury was in a very weak condition after his three days' hunger strike, and was taken to the house of Mr. Joseph Fels, near Regent's Park. It is announced that his licence is now on sale to the highest bidder, the proceeds to go to the *Daily Herald* Fund.

HIS LIFE

The Suffrage Cause has no truer friend than George Lansbury, and none more resolute and energetic. Mr. Lansbury's whole person suggests honesty, strength, steadfastness, and alertness. He is more than ordinarily tall and square of figure, quick of movement, with sympathetic blue eyes, and a powerful voice.

He is not a Londoner by birth, and perhaps he owes his splendid physique to his early home in the Suffolk countryside. When still a boy, he came to London and started work in the East End, where he was later apprenticed to the veneer works, of which he is now a partner. In 1884 Mr. Lansbury went to Australia, but returned in the following year.

George Lansbury commenced political work in the Liberal interest more than thirty years ago, and acted as hon. secretary of the Bow and Bromley Liberal and Radical Association. As time went on, Liberalism became too ill-liberal for him, and he was, with Will Crooks, leader of the new Socialist party on the Poplar Board of Guardians, which endeavoured to reform Poor Law Policy in the East End. He is a member of the Church Socialist League and the I.L.P., a Poor Law Guardian, Borough Councillor, and member of the L.C.C. He was appointed by the Government a member of the Royal Commission on Poor Law and Unemployment, and of the Central Unemployed Committee, and in the latter capacity was responsible for the first serious attempts to grapple with unemployment by means of labour colonies.

Stand for Women's Suffrage

To Suffragists, the all-important event in Mr. Lansbury's life was his resignation of his seat in the House of Commons in order to obtain his constituency's endorsement of the policy of opposing the Government on every question until women were enfranchised. This was in November, 1912, and he had sat for the previous eighteen months as M.P. for Bow and Bromley. He was defeated by 751 votes, but it was a grand, though uneven fight, for he had ranged against him all the power of every official Parliamentary party, for each felt their sway endangered by this stand for principle before party.

The Present Charge

Since the by-election, Mr. Lansbury has continued his help in the fight for women's freedom, and it was in consequence of a speech delivered by him at the great W.S.P.U. meeting at the Albert Hall, on April 10, that he was arrested and charged with incitement under an obsolete law passed in the reign of Edward III. The magistrate ordered him to be bound over to keep the peace for twelve months, and, in default, three months' imprisonment.

Mr. Lansbury contested this decision on two points; firstly, that a Justice of the Peace had no power to bind over a person accused of delivering seditious speeches, and in default to commit to prison. Secondly, the speech in question had been improperly reported, and that though the magistrate had found that he uttered certain words inciting to crime, Justices of the Peace had only jurisdiction to bind over persons who were "pillors and barrators," and that he came under neither description. An appeal against the police-court decision on these grounds was heard before Mr. Justices Bray, Avory, and Lush, sitting as a King's Bench Divisional Court, on July 28. The appeal was dismissed.

On Wednesday in last week Mr. Lansbury gave himself up at Bow Street Police

Court, in accordance with the sentence of three months' imprisonment—yet another champion of liberty.

WIDE-SPREAD INDIGNATION

From the moment George Lansbury walked out of the Bow Street Police Court a prisoner, a great campaign of indignation has been carried on throughout the land, great meetings have been held, in the open air, in halls, and by trade unions, all of which have passed resolutions voicing their protests. Processions have also marched from Bow and Bromley to Pentonville Prison, where meetings were held; the prison was picketed day and night.

The following are a few of the resolutions adopted:—

The Export Branch of the D.W.R.G.W.U. endorses the speeches made by Brother Lansbury and Scurr at W.S.P.U. meetings, views with contempt the interpretation by Justices Bray, Avory, and Lush of the Act under which they were arraigned and convicted, demands the immediate release of George Lansbury and the annulment of further proceedings against Brother Scurr.

The Poplar Labour League expresses its enthusiastic appreciation of Comrade Lansbury's fight for free speech, and its indignation at the sentence passed on him under a ridiculous and obsolete statute.

A meeting of the representatives of the Wards in the Parliamentary Division of Bow and Bromley, condemned the vindictive prosecution of Lansbury, and resolved to do all in their power to rouse a protest against it. The action of the Government was condemned as the outcome of paltry political spite and the faking a charge in order to gag and per-

secute a courageous opponent of all shams and frauds.

The Executive Council of the London Society of Machine Rulers enters its emphatic protest against the prosecution of Lansbury under an obsolete Act of Parliament, and demands his immediate release.

The North Ward, Bow, of the Poplar Trade and Labour Representation League protests strongly against the imprisonment of George Lansbury for the upholding of free speech, and pledge themselves to do the same as the people did during 1831 and '32 until George Lansbury is released, and the prosecution of John Scurr and other Suffragist prisoners is abandoned.

Mass Meeting Next Sunday

On Sunday next, August 10, a demonstration will be held in Trafalgar Square, at 4 p.m., to protest against the unjust imprisonment of George Lansbury and the continued prosecutions of John Scurr, Mrs. Cohen, and others, under a 550 years old Act. The meeting is being arranged by the Free Speech Defence and *Daily Herald* Leagues.

IN THE HOUSE

On August 1, Mr. Wedgwood asked the Home Secretary whether George Lansbury would be kept in prison for three months unless he gave sureties; and of what crime had he been found guilty.

Mr. McKenna: Mr. Lansbury has not been found guilty of a crime, but is liable to imprisonment for three months if he fails or refuses to enter into a recognisance and find sureties for his good behaviour. The High Court have found that the

magistrate's order to this effect was amply justified.

Mr. Wedgwood: Are we to understand that Mr. Lansbury, formerly a member of this House, is to be kept in prison for three months, although he has not been found guilty of any crime whatever?

Mr. McKenna: My hon. friend must understand that Mr. Lansbury has been sent to prison under the ordinary process

of the law because he has failed to find sureties for good behaviour, and there does not appear to be any grounds at the present time for interference by me.

Mr. Wedgwood: Can any magistrate send a man, whether he be a strike leader or anybody else, to prison indefinitely in default of finding sureties for good behaviour?

Mr. McKenna: Yes, sir; if after hearing the evidence the magistrate comes to the conclusion that it is such as to require that a person should be called upon to find sureties, then, on his failing to give such sureties, he may be sent to prison.

Mr. Wedgwood: Evidence of what, if there was no charge?

Mr. McKenna: Oh, there was a charge.

Mr. J. Ward: Will the right hon. gentleman take into consideration that sureties were demanded from him some weeks ago, that he has been of good behaviour in the interval, and should not that be taken into account in the sentence of imprisonment? (Hear, hear.)

Mr. McKenna: I will certainly bear in mind, when the time comes, what my hon. friend says. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Wedgwood further asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he would state in what prisons Mr. Lansbury and Mr. John Scurr were confined; what privileges, if any, they enjoyed as political prisoners; whether they were on hunger strike; and how long he proposed to allow men who had not been convicted to remain in prison under these circumstances.

Mr. McKenna: Mr. Lansbury is in Pentonville Prison. Mr. Scurr's case is still before the Court. As Mr. Lansbury is refusing food he is not receiving the privileges he would otherwise enjoy under Rule 243a. I am not at present aware of any grounds for intervention with regard to the sentence passed on him.

Mr. Wedgwood: Do I understand that Mr. Lansbury, a prisoner who has been convicted of no offence, is in the third division because he is on hunger strike?

Mr. McKenna: My hon. friend in his original question used the expression "convicted of crime." Technically it is not correct to say that when a man is called upon to give assurances for good behaviour and refuses to do so he is guilty of crime, but he was charged with certain offences, and these were proved against him. It was because of that proof that he was called upon to give sureties for good behaviour.

Mr. Wedgwood: He is an innocent man.

ANOTHER QUESTION

In the House of Commons on Wednesday last, Mr. Morrell asked the Home Secretary whether he has considered the sentence of imprisonment recently passed upon Mr. George Lansbury; and whether, in view of all the circumstances of this case, he will take some action in the matter?

Mr. Ellis Griffith, who replied, said: Mr. Lansbury has been released under the Prisoners' Temporary Discharge Act, after serving three days of his sentence. He can bring his imprisonment to an end at any time by finding sureties to keep the peace.

Mr. Morrell: Is the right hon. gentleman aware that it is really in respect of political views that Mr. Lansbury is under sentence of imprisonment, and has the right hon. gentleman considered the fact that if the law is allowed to take its course against Mr. Lansbury, while no proceedings are taken against the member for Dublin University, it will have the effect of bringing the law into the greatest contempt?

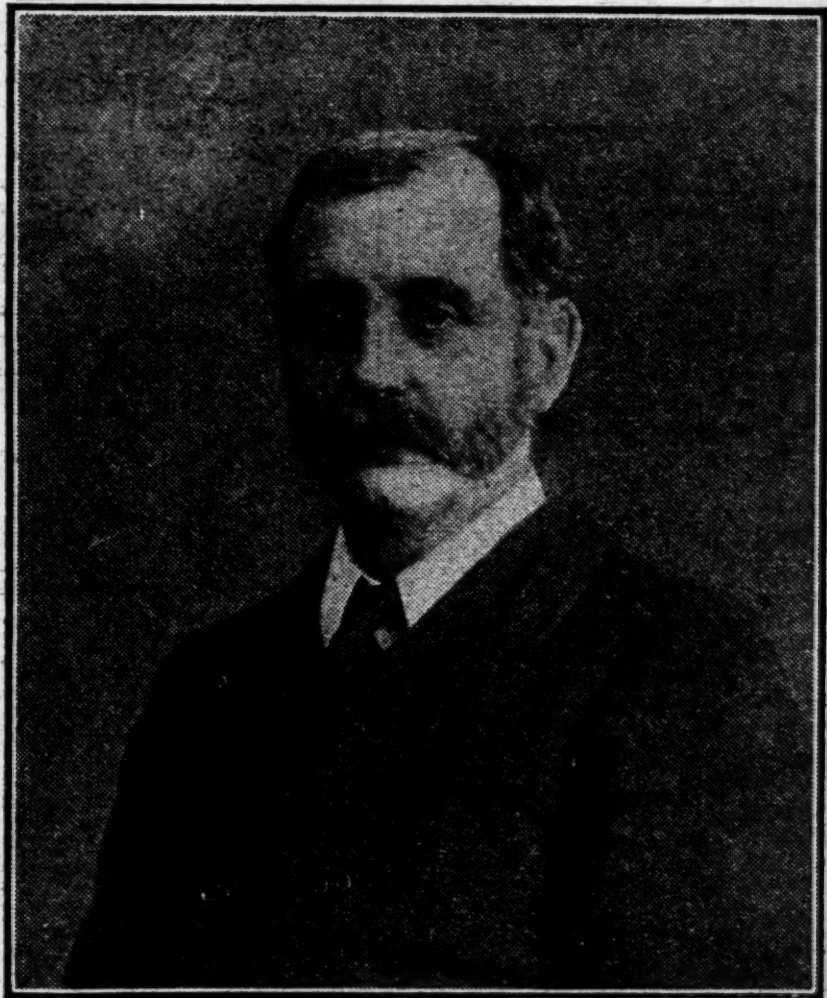
Mr. Griffith: He has only served three days, but he can at any moment bring his imprisonment to an end by finding sureties; the concluding words of the question seem to refer to Mr. Lansbury, and not to the Home Secretary.

Mr. Morrell: Has he been found guilty of a breach of the peace? The right hon. gentleman says that Mr. Lansbury can bring his imprisonment to an end by finding sureties; has he considered whether Mr. Lansbury could honourably bring his imprisonment to a close by finding sureties?

Mr. Griffith: That is entirely a question for Mr. Lansbury.

HOW DOES IT HAPPEN?

George Lansbury is in prison. Here is a weighty question for the people of Great Britain: How does it happen that the most honest man in the land—we challenge the world for the name of a straighter man—has been sent to a place which we thought was for felons and malefactors?—*Daily Herald*.



MR. LANSBURY

GEORGE LANSBURY'S MESSAGE

To the Readers of "Votes for Women"

It seems ages since I went to prison, the time was so long and everything so new. I have learned from actual experience that our whole penal system is just damnable, and am quite certain it ruins all it touches. My heart fairly ached for the long rows of poor men, bruised and battered in mind and body, subjected to all the hideous tyranny of prison, and I long for the day to come when men and women together will have the power to sweep away the conditions which produce prisoners, and prisons be no more needed.

I come out of prison determined to do all one man can to win social and political freedom for women, and without a shred of bitterness toward anyone, but an intense and undying hatred of the wrong and oppression which our class-made and man-made laws produce.

With grateful thanks, in which my wife joins, to all those loyal good-hearted friends who sent us their love and sympathy.

G. LANSBURY.

A PARALLEL TO DICKENS

Our Glorious Government and the Circumlocution Office in "Little Dorrit"

By Winifred Holiday

[The attitude of the present Government so closely resembles that described in "Little Dorrit," by Charles Dickens, that it is useful to recall passages from that famous novel and set them in comparison with events of to-day.]

That glorious establishment, the Circumlocution Office, had been early in the field, when the one sublime principle involving the difficult art of governing a country was first distinctly revealed to statesmen. Whatever was required to be done, the Circumlocution Office was foremost in the art of perceiving—*How Not to Do It*.

Through this delicate perception, through the tact with which it invariably seized it, and through the genius with which it always acted on it, the Circumlocution Office had risen to overtop all the public departments; and the public condition had risen to be—what it was.

From the moment a general election was over, every returned man who had been asserting that It must be done, and who had been pledging himself that It should be done, began to devise how It was not to be done. The debates in both Houses the whole session through uniformly tended to the protracted deliberation, *How Not to Do It*. But the Circumlocution Office went beyond this; because it went on every day, mechanically keeping this wonderful, all-sufficient wheel of statesmanship, *How Not to Do It*, in motion.

Sometimes angry spirits attacked the Circumlocution Office. Sometimes even parliamentary motions were threatened about it, by demagogues so low and ignorant as to hold that the real recipe of Government was, *How to do it*. Then would the right honourable gentleman in whose department it was to defend the Circumlocution Office, come down to that House with a slap upon the table, and smash the honourable gentleman with the Circumlocution Office account of the matter. And although one of two things always happened; namely, either that the Circumlocution Office had nothing to say, and said it, or that it had something to say of which the right honourable gentleman blundered one half and forgot the other, the Circumlocution Office was always voted immaculate by an accommodating majority.

INSTANCES OF HOW THE MACHINE IS WORKED

OUR GLORIOUS GOVERNMENT

The Federated Council of Suffrage Societies reminded Mr. Asquith of his unfulfilled pledges, and asked him to receive a deputation to urge upon him a measure of justice.

The Prime Minister replied that the position of the Government having been made clear in his speeches, he could add nothing to what he had already stated.

The F.C.S.S. replied that the Prime Minister's statements in the House were no direct answer to them, and that the terms of his letter were an evasion.

The Scottish Deputation, having had three refusals from Mr. Asquith, seek that gentleman at 10, Downing Street, and are invited to see Mr. Gulland and Mr. Bonham Carter.

Mr. Gulland: "Can we do anything for you?" "No, you cannot. We wish to see Mr. Asquith himself. We have come from Scotland to see him face to face." Mr. G.: "You cannot see Mr. Asquith, but you can leave a statement in writing."—(Daily Press.)

(At a later stage.)

A second deputation proceeded to the Home Office to seek an interview with Mr. McKenna.

Mr. McKenna left a letter stating he could not comply with their request. They then went to the Scottish Office, and were informed that Mr. McKinnon Wood was in Grand Committee and unable to receive them. They were, however, received by him at the House of Commons in the evening. (With no result.)—(Daily Press.)

Sir Edward Busk led a deputation of well-known men and women to the House of Commons to present a petition from the Caxton Hall Conference on the Cat and Mouse Act, asking for its repeal. Mr. Asquith was away, and Mr. McKenna refused to receive them, though the deputation signified their willingness to await his convenience to any extent. On Mrs. Pethick Lawrence attempting to address the Members of Parliament who were about, she, Lady Sybil Smith, and Miss Evelyn Sharp were arrested, and the next day were sent to prison for fourteen days. A number of ladies who had been told by the police to wait on the outer steps were subsequently roughly pushed about by the same police for doing as they were bid, and Mrs. Cecil Chapman was knocked down.—(Daily Press.)

Mr. Meagles sums up the situation:—"He addresses himself to the Government. The moment he addresses himself to the Government he becomes a public offender. Sir, he ceases to be an innocent citizen, and becomes a culprit. He is treated, from that instant, as a man who has done some infernal action. He is a man to be shirked, put off, brow-beaten, sneered at, a mere outlaw, whom it is justifiable to get rid of anyhow; a man to be worn out by all possible means."

THE CIRCUMLOCUTION OFFICE

The C.O. muddled the business, addled the business, tossed the business in a wet blanket, and reported physical impossibilities about it.

In a Minute, No. 8,740, the C.O. saw no reason to reverse the decision at which my lords had arrived.

The C.O., being reminded that my lords had arrived at no decision, shelved the business.

Mr. Arthur Clennam having made his fifth inquiry for Mr. Tite Barnacle at the C.O., and having awaited him successively in a hall, a glass case, a waiting-room, and a fireproof passage, is introduced to Barnacle, Junior, as a lesser star.

Barnacle, Junior: "Oh, I say, look here! My father's not in the way to-day, and won't be. Is there anything I can do?"

"You are very good," said Arthur. "I wish, however, to see Mr. Barnacle."

Barnacle, Junior: "But I say, look here! You haven't got any appointment, you know."

Arthur: "No. That is what I wish to have."

(At a later stage.)

Arthur Clennam went back to the C.O., and once more sent up his card to Barnacle, Junior.

B., Jun.: "I say, look here! You stick to us in a devil of a manner."

A. C.: "I want to know—"

B., Jun.: "Look here! Upon my soul, you mustn't come into the place saying you want to know, you know. Egad, you haven't an appointment."

A. C.: "I want to know—"

B., Jun.: "I tell you what. You had better try the Secretarial Department."

(Which A. C. does, with no result.)

"It is competent," said Mr. Barnacle, "to any member of the—Public," mentioning that obscure body with reluctance, as his natural enemy, "to memorialise the Circumlocution Department. The Department is always accessible to the—Public, if the—Public approaches it according to the official forms. If the—Public does not approach it according to the official forms, the—Public has itself to blame."

"The—Public has itself to blame."

DEPUTATION OF CLERGY TO THE PRIME MINISTER

Interview Requested for Thursday, Aug. 7, at 3.30

The disgust and horror of the whole country at the cruel administration of the Cat and Mouse Act is growing day by day. A large and representative body of over a hundred clergymen from all parts of the country have now organised for the immediate purpose of approaching the Prime Minister in deputation, and urging upon him their views with regard to the working of the Act.

The following letter has been sent by them to Mr. Asquith:—

To the Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith, K.C., M.P., First Lord of the Treasury.

Dear Sir,—Much abhorrence has been felt by many of the clergy of the country at the present political situation with regard to the question of Women's Suffrage.

In particular, the administration of the so-called "Cat and Mouse" Act is in their opinion exciting much unrest and widespread indignation; it is, moreover, seriously endangering the moral standard of the nation, as well as the stability of the law and order in the State.

They, therefore, desire to express in a public and constitutional way their opinions on this matter, and they respectfully ask you to receive a deputation of their representatives, in order that they may place before you, from the point of view of humanity in a Christian country, the effect of the Government's treatment of the whole question, as they have met it in their own experience.

That experience is necessarily of an extensive nature, and they, therefore, feel that its expression will be helpful in furthering effort to put an end to the intolerable conditions that now prevail.

As members of the Deputation come from considerable distances, it will help the leaders in their arrangements if you will kindly be good enough to reply at your earliest convenience, and fix a time to receive them on Thursday, August 7.

Amongst those who are supporting the Deputation, and from whom its members will be chosen, are:—

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lincoln.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Kensington.

The Rev. Canon Peter Green (Manchester).

The Rev. Canon Talbot (Bristol).

The Rev. Canon Davis (Hereford).

The Rev. A. E. Cornibier (Manchester).

The Rev. C. Baumgarten (London).

The Rev. P. G. F. Widdington (Coventry).

The Rev. John M. Tamplin (Portsmouth).

The Rev. E. A. Morgan (London).

The Rev. E. A. Mould (Barrow-in-Furness).

The Rev. V. A. Boyle (Brighton).

The Rev. A. M. Mitchell (Newton-le-Willows).

The Rev. Bernard Heywood (Manchester).

The Rev. Bethune-Baker (Cambridge).

The Rev. Vibert Jackson (Newcastle-on-Tyne).

And others.

Believe me, yours faithfully,

(Signed) LEWIS F. DONALDSON,

(Organiser of the Deputation).

Bank Buildings, 16, St. James' Street, S.W.

In reply Mr. Asquith's secretary wrote:—

Dear Sir,—The Prime Minister desires me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of to-day's date, and to say that if you will submit the views of the members of the Deputation to him in writing, he will give them his careful consideration. It does not, however, appear to him that any good object would be served by his receiving a Deputation with reference to an Act which has so recently been passed into law, after full debate in Parliament, and he is, therefore, unable to accede to your request.—Yours faithfully,

(Signed) F. W. LEITH ROSS.

The Rev. Lewis F. Donaldson.

10, Downing Street, Whitehall, S.W.

July 29, 1913.

In spite of this refusal, the clergy feel that the matter is so urgent that they will wait upon the Prime Minister on Thursday, August 7, at 3.30 p.m., to state their views on the gravity of the present intolerable situation, and have written to him to that effect. In this they are pursuing a course similar to that adopted both by Scottish Bishops on July 18 and the Deputation appointed by the Cat and Mouse Conference on July 24.

The following answer has been sent to Mr. Asquith:—

Dear Sir,—We beg to acknowledge your reply to our communication of July 28, and to express our great regret that you

have chosen to refuse to see a widely representative deputation of the Church of England clergymen who desire in a constitutional way to obtain a hearing on a matter of urgent importance.

We consider that your continued refusal to meet representative bodies of the citizens, at the head of whom you have been placed in a position of responsibility, is subversive of their own rights in the Government of this country. They find it hard to understand that any useful purpose can be served by such denial of access to those who, as members of a democratic Government, are generally looked upon as representative of the people, and, therefore, as bound to use every reasonable means to obtain adequate knowledge of the opinions and feelings of the people.

We therefore respectfully inform you that we consider it our plain duty to see you and express to you our views on the very serious conditions that now prevail as a result of the present cruel coercion of the Government in the course of their unsatisfactory treatment of the whole Woman's question. It is our intention, therefore, to wait upon you on Thursday next, August 7, at 3.30 p.m.—Yours faithfully,

(Signed) F. LEWIS DONALDSON,
(On behalf of the Members of the Deputation).

To the Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith, K.C., M.P.

16, St. James' Street, S.W.

August 2, 1913.

Whether the Prime Minister by any chance changes his mind and decides to see this exceedingly influential Deputation will be known by the time this is printed. If not, women are wondering whether this body of electors, containing the Bishops of Lincoln and Kensington, will receive the same treatment meted out to the Deputation of July 24, which contained voteless women, three of whom were arrested, and others subjected to the roughest of treatment at the hands of the police.

CHURCHWOMEN'S PROTEST

The Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee have sent the following letter, concerning the "Cat and Mouse Act," to the Archbishop of Canterbury:—

"The Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee desire to express to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of York, the indignation and loathing with which they regard the action of the Bishops in allowing the Cat and Mouse Bill to pass the House of Lords. Such action convinces the Committee, more than ever, of the necessity of collecting the signatures of churchwomen to the protest organised by the Committee. It is tragic enough that our legislators should be capable of even considering a measure which inflicts upon good and public-spirited women torture such as no humane person would ever inflict upon murderers or brothel-keepers. But Churchwomen—and, indeed, all Christians—had at least a right to expect that the Lords Spiritual would be present in the Upper House to denounce, in the name of Christianity, a measure the mere proposal of which must rank England far below the ignorant nations to whom she, with inconceivable arrogance, sends missionaries. But the Bishops, having persistently neglected to suggest public prayer in the churches for God's guidance in the question of women's enfranchisement, have now, it seems, been smitten with a terrible curse of spiritual blindness. They have thrown aside all pretence of decency and religion. Before the eyes of Agnostics and Atheists, they have openly allied themselves with corrupt politicians and White Slave traders, by sanctioning methods of unheard-of brutality towards women who—whether right or wrong in their methods—are earnestly striving to bring into this nation some degree of purity and Christianity. If the Bishops really sanctioned the Bill without realising what it would involve, the only way in which they can save the Church from everlasting disgrace is by immediately and publicly acknowledging their terrible mistake, and by agitating for the repeal of the Act before the murder of any of the women is completed."

THE NORTHERN FEDERATION OF MEN FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

Non-Party and Constitutional

This Federation is in no sense a Suffrage Society, but has been formed for a specific purpose by the members of the Scottish Deputation insulted by Mr. Asquith. All the important centres of Scotland and the North of England will be added to the Federation to increase its force and volume, and the object of the Federation announced hereafter. Inquiries and subscriptions to the National Fund should be addressed to the Honorary Organiser, Mrs. Arncliffe-Sennett, 6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, London.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Colours: Purple, White, and Red.

Motto: "Come on! Hold on! Fight on!"

To my Co-Workers in the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship,—

Having the same purpose and the same faith, we share as Fellows the same joy in the sure and steady advance that is being made to-day towards the triumph of our Cause. The Woman's Movement is, as we have often reminded each other, nothing less than a social and moral revolution. With the ultimate achievement of this revolution all the great issues of human liberty and self-governing democracy are bound up.

So great a victory for humanity can only be attained by the supreme dedication of hundreds and of thousands of individual lives to feed the life of the world. The concentrated energy of brain and heart and will of masses of people has to be focussed to this sole end. The price of life itself has to be paid over and over again.

These conditions are being fulfilled. Slowly, as it may seem to us, yet surely is a further stage in the upward evolution of humanity being worked out. It remains for all who see this vision and rejoice in it to spread the light and the truth amongst the people of the whole nation. It is mainly for this end that the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship exists.

The growth of the Fellowship during the last three months has out-distanced the hopes with which it was founded. There has been a steady increase all the time of 50 to 100 new members a week. Fellows! these results have been achieved by your persistent efforts and by your steady work. I congratulate you warmly.

During last week from Monday to Saturday there were 60 membership cards signed, by men as well as by women, by non-militants as well as by militants, by Suffragists representing various existing societies as well as by new recruits into the ranks of the Suffrage Army. And there is no reason to suppose that this rate of increase will drop during the holiday season.

I ask you to go on. Work more persistently during the holiday weeks of August and September than you have ever worked before. Your opportunities will be greater. You will have a new circle of companions and will form new acquaintances. Have your Fellowship cards always at hand. Keep spare copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN with you. Clinch every argument and every conversation on the subject with a new signature—a new reader of the paper. Bring back from your holiday resort a trophy of six, twelve or even twenty more fellow-labourers to send out to sow the good seed and to reap the ripening harvest.

If for any reason you cannot render personal service of this kind, will you reach a new circle of people vicariously through your paper? Will you send a subscription to further a corporate enterprise which we have at heart, namely, that of sending copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN to the principal hotels at seaside and holiday resorts to be placed in the reading rooms, where they will attract the attention of many, who are still unaware that such a paper exists.

Early in the autumn we shall meet, refreshed and re-invigorated, for a campaign that, if determination can avail, shall compel the vote to be conceded to women in 1914. I have many plans to unfold to you for the development of the Fellowship on national and international lines.

Our next Reunion will take the form of a public meeting in the Kingsway Hall on October 16. Book the date and keep the appointment. The Bishop of Kensington will be one of the speakers, and will make his first public pronouncement on a Suffrage platform with regard to his attitude on this question. It has been suggested that the meeting shall also be the occasion of congratulation to Miss Evelyn Sharp, Lady Sybil Smith and myself upon our release from Holloway Prison. Above all, it will be the occasion upon which definite pronouncements will be made with regard to the new offices that have been secured for purposes of extended organisation and the new departments of work that are even now about to be instituted; and it will also provide an opportunity for raising the necessary funds. More particulars will be given next week. Watch these columns for information.

I thank you for all your goodwill, for all your co-operation, for all your financial support, for all your help in the achievement of our common purpose. I send you my best wishes for a happy time of recuperation and rest, and also for your success in

winning new adherents. Never fear that wrong shall triumph or that right shall be worsted. Be assured that the work we are doing together will live on and will come to fruition in the better and fuller life of humanity.

Ever yours in the Fellowship,

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

Several "Fellows" from the country and provincial towns, who have come up to London for their holidays, have given up time to paper-selling, thus filling up the gaps left by those regular sellers who are away. They do much interesting and valuable work, for there are so many American and Colonial visitors here, who are only too glad to buy a copy of our paper and chat about the suffrage movement with the vendor of it. Therefore, it is hoped that others will volunteer and come to Red Lion Court for a supply of papers and information as to pitches.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To Aug. 1, 1913)

£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Subscriptions already			Mrs. Harrison	0	1	0
acknowledged	807	0	Mrs. Goodliffe	0	2	0
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VOTES)	0	0	Dr. Marie Pethick ..	5	5	0
Miss O. Chichester			Miss H. Stewart ..	0	1	0
(extra on VOTES) ..	0	0	Mrs. Jensen	0	5	0
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Miss A. H. Shawe ..	0	1	Mrs. Charlton	0	1	0
Miss D. Hector	1	1				
Mrs. Hoffman	0	1	Total	£817	9	11

N.B.—The item, Miss M. Andersen 2s. 6d., in previous list, should read, Mrs. Collett-Wright 2s. 6d.

REVIEW

A PLEA FOR LIBERTY

This well written little book is a refreshing contribution to the literature of the good cause of "Votes for Women." In language plain, though philosophical, Mrs. Re-Bartlett discusses "The Freedom of Woman," "The Philosophy of Excess," and "The Evolution of the Brute," wisely discerning what the militant movement means, without exaggerating or underestimating the significance and importance of militancy. All but the hopelessly stagnant of mind are bound to get some enlightenment from what Mrs. Re-Bartlett has written, and the average man or woman, who is still in the dark as to why women are militant, and wonders without understanding at the doings of Suffragettes, should be released from the bonds of ignorance on reading "Towards Liberty." Therefore the book should be as widely read as possible. Mrs. Re-Bartlett is alive to the hindrance caused by lack of sympathy on the part of law-abiding constitutionalists:

When militancy first broke out seven years ago, it was perhaps not desirable that all suffrage societies should politically have agreed with the militants, or adopted the same policy, but what a mighty strength it would have meant if every individual constitutionalist had deeply understood, and passionately sympathised with the militant movement, then we should have had the militants rousing thought, and the constitutionalists explaining and consolidating.

This "explaining" and "consolidating" is still needed; and we have still to contend, as the author reminds us, with "the woman who hugs her chains, and in hugging them, binds them also around man," and with the "brute" let loose in Mr. Lloyd George's followers at Llanystumdwy and elsewhere. As for the dull-witted magistrates and Justice Phillimore, with their stupid and often insolent reproaches, and all the craven-hearted parliamentary gang that keeps Mr. Asquith in power, they have got to fall sooner or later, before the oncoming women seeking freedom; and Mrs. Re-Bartlett has, with her book, helped to hasten their downfall.

It is notoriously difficult to persuade the anti and the indifferent to read anything that makes demand upon the intelligence, for an "open mind" on the Suffrage question is best preserved by stopping the ears, shutting the eyes, and steadily refusing to hear or see what Suffragists have to say for themselves. But "Towards Liberty" is only a matter of 70 pages, and is not difficult to read. And its price is but a shilling. The least we can do is to read it, and then try it on our friends.

J. C.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Westminster Review." August. (London: Marlborough. Price 2s. 6d. net.)
 "Through Finland in Carts." By Mrs. Alec Tweedie. (London: Nelson. Price 1s. net.)
 "The Englishwoman." August. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. Price 1s. net.)

"Towards Liberty." By Lucy Re-Bartlett. (Longmans, Green & Co. 1s. net.)

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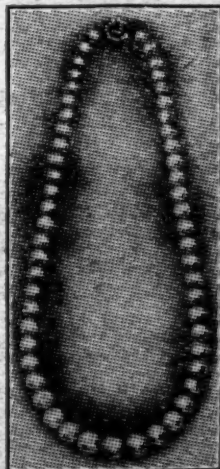
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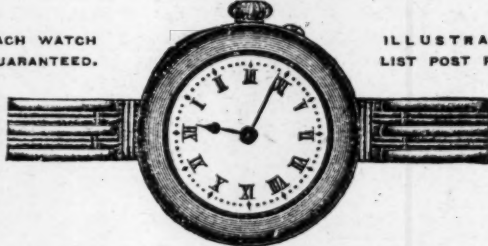
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VOTES FOR WOMEN

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Telegraphic Address:—Votfowom, Fleet, London.
Telephone:—Holborn 1305.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 9, 1913.

SELF-CONDEMNED

The Chancellor of the Exchequer made, at Carnarvon last Thursday, a passionate speech in denunciation of those in high places who set themselves in opposition to the fundamental principles of democracy and public liberty. No words ever used by Suffragists have constituted a more direct and searching arraignment of the Ministers of the present Government than is contained in that speech, of which on another page we publish some very significant extracts. Several paragraphs are reproduced without the alteration of a single word. In others the term "House of Lords" has been altered to "House of Commons" or alternatively the "Cabinet," and the word "class" has been changed to the word "sex." These slight alterations do not affect in any way the principles laid down by Mr. Lloyd George. It is equally correct to refer to women as an unenfranchised "sex" or as an unenfranchised "class," and no reasonable person can dispute the fact that a conspiracy to thwart and overthrow democracy is no more justifiable when carried out by the Cabinet than it is when carried out by the Lords.

As to whether these great principles of liberty and democracy enunciated by Mr. Lloyd George affect the struggle between an unrepresentative and oligarchic House of Commons and an unrepresentative and oligarchic House of Lords, it is not for us to say. What we do know and what we most confidently assert is that these principles are profoundly applicable to the present struggle between the unenfranchised women of the country and the present Liberal Cabinet.

The elementary and fundamental basis of democracy is the potential right to the Parliamentary vote. Without the vote the people have no voice as to the laws under which they are governed, and no power to obtain any amelioration of the conditions under which they live.

This fact has been demonstrated again and again in the history of the British nation. The struggle for the vote preceded the rise and power of the democracy. Working men had to win enfranchisement before they obtained attention to their wrongs or redress of their grievances. So long as they had no voice in the legislature, laws were in force making the formation of a Trade Union illegal, and those who entered into combination to obtain an advance in wages were convicted of criminal conspiracy and banished from their native land. The Catholic subjects of the Crown suffered from aggravated griev-

ances for which no redress was obtainable until the fear of civil war compelled the Government to concede the vote and to make them citizens of the realm. There would have been no Irish Party in the House to-day if that elementary condition of freedom had not first been attained. Similarly, the agricultural labourers had to become enfranchised before any project of social reform could win a chance of serious consideration from the legislature. Without enfranchisement there can be no "democracy," no guarantee of "public liberty" and "public right."

The supreme cause of democracy, liberty and right is at the present time in the hands of those men and women who are demanding potential citizenship for half of the human race in these islands. The supreme betrayal of all these principles must be laid at the door of the Ministers of the present Government, including the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself, who are endeavouring to meet this just, reasonable, and righteous demand by coercion and cruelty.

Women need the vote for precisely the same reasons as working men, Catholics and agricultural labourers needed it in the past. Until they obtain enfranchisement they are shut out of the body politic; they have no voice wherewith to make known their needs and no power wherewith to obtain redress for their grievances. They suffer as an unenfranchised class just as working men suffered and as Catholics suffered before they won the vote, and as every class outside the body politic must always suffer from legislation over which it has no control.

The recent Insurance Act has brought this fact home to millions of women. The terms of this Act inflict a fundamental wrong upon women as a class, over and above a great many incidental wrongs for the removal of which long and strenuous agitations will be needed. Women in the industrial classes suffer from under-payment and from bad and exhausting conditions of labour, and even from arbitrary restrictive laws as a direct outcome of their political subjection, just as men did in days gone by. Women are affected not only as wage earners, but as wives and mothers and housekeepers, by legislation. Especially in these days when a Liberal Government is piling up law upon law and project upon project for increasing the power of the State over every woman's life and every woman's home, it is only by the participation of woman in the State that she can protect those liberties and those rights which can never be safely left by any section of the people in the hands of a privileged class.

"The greatest struggle for public liberty and public right that generations have witnessed in these islands" is undoubtedly the agitation that is being carried on by all those who are true to the principle of democracy, to secure the inclusion of women in the body politic and the recognition of women as part of the self-governing community.

No popular cause resisted by both parties in our party system of government has ever been supported by so great and so effective a campaign of a constitutional kind, or has evoked such enthusiasm, self-sacrifice and devotion in its militant champions.

Very solemn words of warning were uttered by Mr. Lloyd George as to the consequences that must ensue if the fundamental liberties of the people are too long denied; and history endorses his statement that it is by such denial that revolutions are made.

"They are negotiating a revolution in this kingdom, and they are doing so with all the blind, headlong recklessness which has invariably characterised those who insist on retaining privileged positions in an age where all classes are possessed by manlier ideas than those which make privilege tolerable. The men who precipitate revolutions rarely see them through."

Let the Liberal Government take to heart this lesson preached by the Chancellor of the Exchequer—that wanderer astray upon the fields of light. Great are his words as of one who has once seen the Vision, although now he has turned his back upon it. The spirit of prophecy has spoken by his mouth, although he may himself be ignorant of the full meaning and application of the words he has uttered.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE CONDEMNS HIMSELF

A great anti-Government speech composed exclusively of extracts from Mr. Lloyd George's recent speech at Carnarvon, absolutely unaltered except for the omissions marked by asterisks and a few changed words, all of which are shown in italics.

Liberalism is on its trial. Democracy stands in greater peril at this hour than it has for generations in this country. I hope you are not missing the significance of what has taken place in the House of Commons* recently, and the interpretation which has been placed upon it by the Cabinet* and their friends. There is a deliberate conspiracy afoot in influential quarters—it is not for me to say how far it extends—to thwart and overthrow democratic government. That is not the guise under which it masquerades, but, stripped of its pretences, that is its real meaning. The Cabinet* and their friends arrogate to themselves the right to say that they decline to allow Liberal measures, which Parliament was elected to carry, to pass on to the Statute Book if they disapprove of them.

You know what that means. If it succeeds it means the end of constitutional government in this country, and force will become the sole hope of liberty in the twentieth, as it was in the seventeenth, century. You are face to face with the greatest struggle for public liberty and public right that generations have witnessed in these islands. Of course, they do not say in so many words that they are resolved to defy the public will. All the same, the claim which they have made means that government of the people by the people for the people will be rendered impossible in the United Kingdom.

The position is becoming untenable for Liberalism unless a drastic change is effected in the conditions under which legislation is to be carried on in this country.

They make the rules under which the game is played. They insist upon being umpires as well as players, and they invariably alter rules when their turn comes to play.

Their opponents must play over a course beset with bunkers, but when their turn comes to play, before they begin the bunkers must be levelled and the course cleared of all difficulties. (Hear, hear.) Not only are they bad constitutionalists, but they are wretched sportsmen. (Laughter.) Liberalism in this country has been fighting for centuries for civil and religious equality. Neither of these ideals has yet been attained.

Nothing but the fear of a revolution would induce the Cabinet* to carry through a measure promoted by a Liberal House of Commons if they happened to dislike it.

The fact of the matter is they are making a desperate effort, and I think the last desperate effort—(cheers)—to restore to the full, and further to strengthen, the grip of class ascendancy over the Legislature.

At bottom the same principle actuate the Cabinet† in this policy as in the State establishment of religion—the old spirit of class dominancy. The Government chosen by their class, the legislative proposals favoured by their class, the laws made for the protection and the exaltation of their class, the particular religious creed affected by their class—they are all in a superior category to Ministries, measures, laws, and religions that derive their support merely from the masses of the people. That is the problem we are face to face with, and it is well we should realise it. (Cheers.)

There has been a great deal of talk about setting *sex†* against *sex†*. The most effective way of doing this is by setting *sex†* above *sex†*. (Cheers.) Mr. Disraeli once wrote a great book about two nations which lived side by side in this country. The Liberal† leaders mean to have two separate constitutions, two separate sets of laws for the government of these two nations. (Cheers.)

The Cabinet† seem to think they can choose their laws à la carte—(laughter)—pick out those which suit their palate, and leave the rest for anybody else who likes that sort of thing. They conceive a one-

sided *sex†* war, in which they can with impunity blow up the legislative bridges and railroads along which democratic hopes are marching to their realisation, while the people look on meekly and submissively, without interfering with any of the sheltered pathways of their assailants.

They have forgotten the history of their own country. (Cheers.) They have overlooked the daring and indomitable love of liberty which has inspired men of British blood throughout the ages. (Cheers.) No men of spirit could endure tamely such a defiance of their fundamental liberties. They are seeking to

establish an oligarchic tyranny over the descendants of the men who destroyed monarchies and great churches when they became instruments of oppression.

They are negotiating a revolution in this kingdom, and they are doing so with all the blind, headlong recklessness which has invariably characterised those who insist on retaining privileged positions in an age where all classes are possessed by manlier ideas than those which make privilege tolerable. The men who precipitate revolutions rarely see them through.

THE DESTRUCTION OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY

By John Scurr

The prosecution of Mr. George Lansbury and his consequent imprisonment must have far-reaching consequences. For all practical purposes it is now established that any person may be sent to prison without having committed a crime and without trial by jury. That this is no exaggerated statement is proved by the following questions and answers in the House of Commons on July 31:—

"Mr. Wedgwood asked the Home Secretary whether George Lansbury would be kept in prison for three months unless he gave sureties; and of what crime had he been found guilty?"

"Mr. McKenna: 'Mr. Lansbury has not been found guilty of a crime, but is liable to imprisonment for three months if he fails or refuses to enter into a recognisance and find sureties for his good behaviour. The High Court have found that the magistrate's order to this effect was amply justified.'

"Mr. Wedgwood: 'Are we to understand that Mr. Lansbury, a former member of this House, is to be kept in prison for three months, although he has not been found guilty of any crime whatever?'

"Mr. McKenna: 'My hon. friend must understand that Mr. Lansbury has been sent to prison under the ordinary process of the law, because he has failed to find sureties for good behaviour, and there does not appear to be any ground at the present time for interference by me.'

"Mr. Wedgwood: 'Can any magistrate send a man, whether he be a strike leader or anybody else, to prison indefinitely in default of finding sureties for good behaviour?'

"Mr. McKenna: 'Yes, sir; if after hearing the evidence the magistrate comes to the conclusion that it is such as to require that a person should be called upon to find sureties, then on his failing to give such sureties, he may be sent to prison.'

This last answer is particularly illuminating. What is the evidence produced in these cases? It consists of extracts taken from a speech, divorced from their context, and often placed in a juxtaposition never contemplated by the speaker. The whole thing rests upon the discretion of the magistrate, and as he may be often a Justice of the Peace on a country bench, often an elderly country gentleman, unacquainted with industrial matters, it can be seen that anyone accused may be sent to prison without much chance.

I give the following extract from the *Yorkshire Evening Post* of May 22, in the first hearing of my own case:—"Inspector Harry Darley, in answer to Mr. Willey, said the speech lasted about thirty minutes, and he only took a note of those parts which in his judgment were worthy of consideration."

And from the *Yorkshire Evening News* of the same date:—

"Inspector Darley, answering Mr. Willey, admitted that he did not take a verbatim report, but picked out certain parts. He agreed that to some extent the statement of an orator was governed by the context."

"Mr. Willey: Are you responsible for picking this bit out?—There was no one at my elbow to tell me what to report, sir."

"You only took a note of what appealed to you as important?—Yes."

These facts prove conclusively that any person in a public position whose views are objectionable to someone in authority can on the unsupported word of a police officer be taken before a magistrate and imprisoned if he fails to find sureties.

The possibility of any adequate defence is impossible. No speaker tours the country accompanied by a shorthand writer. The Press representatives seldom report anyone verbatim unless they happen to be Cabinet or ex-Cabinet Ministers speaking on important questions of policy. Consequently there is no defence.

The Government have, therefore, in effect declared war on the community, and have restored for the

Government (after all, a body of persons selected by chance at any time) the right of arbitrary imprisonment. It will be remembered that in Bates's case it was laid down that "the King's power is twofold, ordinary and absolute. His ordinary power is for the profit of particular subjects, for the execution of civil justice in the ordinary courts. The King's absolute power, on the contrary, is applied, not for the benefit of particular persons, but for the general benefit of the people, and is *salus populi*."

As a result of this judgment it was afterwards held that "by special command of the King" was a sufficient answer to a writ of Habeas Corpus. Students of English history will remember the consequences to the Stuarts of this interpretation of the law.

In the recent case of Lansbury v. Riley it is held that although the statute relied on was obscure, and although there was no evidence of the Conservators of the Peace having these powers under Common Law, in view of the fact that the power had been exercised and unquestioned for over two hundred years the Court would not interfere.

It therefore follows that arbitrary imprisonment for political opponents has now become an integral portion of our constitution. So long as persons confine their utterances to those questions which the Executive desire to be discussed, even if such utterances are of a violent character and lead to riot and disturbance, no action will be taken. Sir Edward Carson criticises violently the Home Rule policy, but he is not interfered with.

On the other hand, if a person discusses a policy which the Executive finds inconvenient, he or she may be imprisoned on the evidence of a police officer acting under instructions, who will take a note of any words which may be torn from their context and may be construed as of an inciting character, the person may be called on to find sureties and in default imprisoned, irrespective of whether any crime has been committed or not.

Again from the *Yorkshire Evening Post* of May 22: "Mr. K. Handley, the Deputy Chief Constable of Leeds, went into the box and stated that since Mr. Scurr's speech there had been two crimes committed in Leeds, presumably by militant women."

"On April 25, he said, five live cartridges were placed in a letter-box in Neville Street. There was a label attached bearing the words, 'Votes for Women.' On May 3 there was some brown, sticky fluid in a broken medicine bottle placed in a box in Meadow Lane, and two letters were damaged."

"Mr. Pearce: Were there any acts previous to this meeting?"

"Mr. Willey: I submit that that is quite immaterial."

"The Magistrate: I do not think so. The prosecution are entitled to prove that the defendant has identified himself with a certain policy."

"Mr. Willey: Yes, sir, but this is evidence against nobody in particular."

"Mr. Handley went on to say that the previous acts numbered nine, and included putting liquids and filth into letter-boxes. Three of these cases were, however, probably the work of mischievous boys, and of the others, only in two cases had literature or anything connected with the Suffragette movement been left behind."

Not only are you to be charged with having been in some mysterious manner connected with happenings days after you have spoken, but also you are roped in with things that have happened before, even if done by mischievous boys.

I submit the whole proceedings are farcical from beginning to end, and everyone should be up and doing in order to have this senseless procedure abolished once and for all. Otherwise freedom of expression is gone for ever, individual liberty is dead, and all persons differing from the Executive are liable to arbitrary imprisonment, although guiltless of crime. Our law is therefore completely Russianised and there is no protection from Parliament.

* Mr. Lloyd George—"Lords." † Mr. Lloyd George—"Tories."
‡ Mr. Lloyd George—"Class."

MATERNITY BENEFIT

To be Paid to Wife, or to Husband if Authorised by Wife

The debate and divisions on the Maternity Benefit in the House of Commons on Wednesday last were of unusual interest, for the final result was in suspense up to the last moment.

It will be remembered that in the Insurance Amendment Bill as originally drafted by the Government no proposal was put forward for altering the existing arrangement by which maternity benefit has been paid to the husband.

In response, however, to a widespread agitation in which Suffragists and anti-Suffragists joined the Select Committee introduced into the Bill a new clause providing that the maternity benefit be paid in future to the wife.

This clause was considered in the whole House of Commons on Wednesday on the report stage of the Bill.

Mr. Roberts Proposes to Make it Optional

The discussion ranged round an amendment moved by Mr. George Roberts providing that where maternity benefit is payable in respect of the husband's insurance the wife's receipt or his receipt on her behalf shall be a sufficient discharge to the society or committee, and where the benefit is paid to the husband he shall pay it to the wife or apply it for the maintenance and care of the wife and child.

Mr. G. Roberts admitted that there had been abuses of the maternity benefit, and was prepared to do all he could to remove those abuses; but, on the other hand, while they sought to remove one abuse they ought to take care that they did not set up others equally objectionable. He held that the great mass of the working-class husbands were really decent people who always wanted to do the right thing for their womenfolk on the occasion under consideration. He objected to the clause as it stood in the Bill because it legislated against a whole sex of the community, and he strongly resented the implication that the working-class husbands could not be trusted to do the right thing towards their own wives. He fully accepted the decision of the Standing Committee that the maternity benefit was the property of the wife, and his amendment would in no way affect that declaration. He moved the clause be amended, and he most strongly resented the implication that because a few husbands were bad Parliament ought to legislate against all husbands.

Mr. J. Ward opposed the amendment, and ridiculed the argument that if the maternity benefit were paid to the mother it would cause domestic trouble between husband and wife. (Opposition cheers.)

Mr. Beck said he was also unable to support the amendment. He said all were agreed that the maternity benefit was the property of the mother, and he was perfectly satisfied that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the husband and wife would act together and spend the money to the best advantage. It could not be denied, however, that there had been cases in which when the maternity benefit had been paid to the husband the money had not been applied as the mother would have applied it if she had had the spending.

Unanimous Opinion of Women

Lord R. Cecil said they were all agreed that the maternity benefit should legally belong to the mother, and in some cases it had been proved that the benefit had been misapplied. The amendment would absolutely destroy the whole practical value of the clause, and he thought it would be best to leave the clause as it stood. They had had striking testimony that the women of the country desired the Bill left as it stood. It was not a question of Suffragists or anti-Suffragists, but with almost absolute unanimity the women agreed that the clause should be left as it was. As that House declined to give them political power they should attend very carefully to the desires of the women so expressed.

Mr. Booth said he supported the amendment, but only if subsequently the provision that the husband should apply the benefit for the maintenance and care of the wife and child were omitted. The husband should pay it to the wife, and

not be given the alternative, which he wished to see omitted.

Mr. Macdonald Discusses Bad Mothers

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald said the maternity benefit was a trust fund, and if either the father or mother misapplied it they ought to be punished. If it was paid over to a bad mother the position would be far worse than if it were given to a bad father. Their claim was that the societies should have the power to use discretion in the giving of this money, and that was fully secured by the amendment.

Mr. G. Locker Lampson (Salisbury), in opposing the amendment, said he hoped the Government would not make this a party question by putting on the official Whips. If women had votes there would be no doubt that the 30s. would be absolutely safe in the mother's pocket. So long as that House denied votes to women they should look upon themselves especially as the trustees of women's interests, and go out of their way to behave generously whenever these questions came up.

Mr. Masterman said he had no intention of exercising any kind of Government pressure in connection with this subject. (Cheers.) When anything in connection with women entered into their controversies party divisions became hopelessly merged in other divisions. It was left by the Committee on the Bill to him to consult the Approved Societies and to ask them what administrative amendment they thought was required to the clause as it stood. After a long consultation they told him that they saw no better way out of the difficulty than that contained in the amendment now before the House. They found they must ask that the husband's receipt should be valid, as well as the wife's. He did not quite like the last sentence in the amendment, and would like to have a straight vote on the question with that sentence omitted.

Mr. Worthington Evans supported the amendment.

Mr. G. Roberts formally withdrew the amendment, and moved it again with the omission of the last sentence.

Mr. Forster said he should vote for the amendment, because he agreed with Mr. Macdonald that they had not only to look after the case of the bad husband but of the bad wife as well.

Mr. Snowden opposed the amendment, and suggested that the best course would be to leave the Bill with the simple declaration that the maternity benefit was the mother's benefit, and allow the Approved Societies to make whatever arrangements they thought best to give effect to that decision.

On a division Mr. George Roberts' amendment as amended was carried by 186 to 177.

Lord Robert Cecil Carries Important Provision

Lord Robert Cecil then moved that the maternity benefit should only be paid to the husband if he had the authority of the wife to receive the money. He hoped the House would do this out of justice to the women.

Mr. Masterman opposed the amendment. He said the House had now decided that the husband should pay the money to the wife, and if he did not do so he laid himself open to an action for tort.

On a division Lord Robert Cecil's amendment was carried by 186 to 165. The announcement was received with loud Opposition cheers.

Why Lansbury Went to Gaol

Mr. Lansbury, writing in the *Daily Herald* on "Why I am in Gaol," says:—

"The judges of the land have decided that on the statement of a single policeman men and women can be put in gaol. No corroboration is needed. What is more important is the further fact that those who are to be prosecuted are chosen not by any tribunal but simply at the will or discretion of an ordinary police officer who comes to a public meeting. And only to Socialist and Suffragist public meetings are these men sent. Unionist and Liberal gatherings are exempt. Consequently, if the police officer is a bitter anti-Socialist or anti-Suffragist, he selects just those pieces of the speech which he thinks are bad, and leaves the rest to take care of itself. I think that this sort of inquisition is much worse than any which has been tolerated in our country before."

VIOLENCE OF THE POLICE

Magistrate Dismisses Charges of Assault Brought by Mrs. Chapman

"Are the police to be entitled to knock women Suffragists about with impunity?" That is a question which women are beginning to ask one another in all seriousness. The answer appears to be in the affirmative if the case heard at Bow Street is any criterion. The very serious allegations made in the court as to police violence were either totally disbelieved by the magistrate or were considered a matter of little moment, for the facts failed to draw from him (according to the account of the proceedings which we have received) any rebuke such as they seem to merit.

The events under discussion related to the scene that took place at the Strangers' Entrance to the House of Commons on July 24, when the police so violently swept away the women who had accompanied the deputation from the Cat and Mouse Conference at the Caxton Hall. Two charges of assault were brought against one of the constables, Harry Trudgell, 459, of the A Division, Metropolitan Police. The charges were made by Mrs. Ruth Mary Cavendish-Bentinck, wife of Mr. Frederick Cavendish-Bentinck, of Harley Street, and Mrs. Adeline Mary Chapman, wife of Mr. Cecil Chapman, Metropolitan Police Magistrate, and were heard at Bow Street Police Court before Mr. Graham Campbell, on Tuesday and Wednesday last, Mr. H. H. Curtis-Bennett and Mr. Shearman appearing for the defence.

Mrs. Chapman's Evidence

Mrs. Chapman, whose case was first taken, said that she was a member of the deputation appointed to carry a memorial from the conference to the House of Commons. They were admitted at the Strangers' Entrance, and went up the steps to the door of St. Stephen's Hall, where Sir Edward Busk, who was leading the deputation, was admitted by the defendant, with most of the members, but she herself was shut out. She asked to be admitted, but defendant refused. While she was still waiting on the steps, he suddenly seized her, and putting his knee into her back, forced her against the wall. She took his number, and he then returned to the door. She followed, and said she wished to send in a card to a member of Parliament, and when he said he would send it in if she would go and stand outside, she replied that there was no member of the House of Commons for whom she would stand waiting in the road. Suddenly an inspector came up, with a number of policemen. They pushed her violently down the steps, precipitating her on to the ladies below, with such force that a chain she was wearing was broken. A policeman grasped her as though she were a malefactor, and finally they were all driven out into the road like cattle.

Cross-examined by Mr. Curtis-Bennett, who claimed that a mistake had been made with regard to the constable's number, Mrs. Chapman said she was certain she had made no mistake in the number she took. No one had tried to push open the doors to let her through.

Mrs. Cavendish-Bentinck said she was not a member of the deputation, but she followed with a friend, and remained outside for some time. She then saw some people being rushed out of the House of Commons. Presently Mrs. Chapman came out, apparently being pushed about from side to side by police officers, and witness went up to try to get her out of the crowd. When she reached her, they were both pushed, with the rest of the people, towards Whitehall. The manner of the police was most provocative. She was roughly pushed by defendant, and said to him, "I am taking your number, 459 A." She was determined to remember the number, because she was not good at remembering faces. The man caught hold of her arm and pushed, and she thought he was going to arrest her, but he thought better of it, and she eventually got through with Mrs. Chapman.

Mr. Curtis-Bennett said he would call a number of witnesses to prove that defendant was never outside the House of Commons on that day.

Miss Olga Hartley, an authoress, was sure the defendant was the man she had seen pushing Mrs. Chapman most violently and rudely.

Miss Mary Winsor, an American lady, Mrs. Barbara Tchaikovsky, Mrs. Caroline Francis Fagan, and Miss Margaret Macmillan all gave evidence as to the roughness of the police.

Mrs. Barbara Carr said that she saw Mrs. Cavendish-Bentinck being jostled by the police outside the House of Commons, but she could not give the numbers on the policeman's collar.

Mrs. Edith May Watson (recalled) said that she saw defendant outside the House of Commons more than once.

Cross-examined, she took up her stand inside the hall where there were some men; she did not know whether they were "police spies," and was flung out. She recognised defendant's features in Court, although he had his helmet off.

At Mr. Bennett's suggestion defendant now put his helmet on, whereupon Mrs. Watson said, "Not only do I now see that he is the constable that I saw outside the House of Commons, but he is very much like the constable who punched me inside the House of Commons. His face was inflamed, and purple with passion."

The Police Never Punished

Mr. Bennett: That is a serious charge against the police.—Unfortunately, the police do not regard it as serious. They are never punished for it.

Witness denied having been somewhat excited at the time, but was busy at the time taking down the numbers of the "more brutal of the policemen."

Miss Lizzie Emma Turquane, of Hanley, said she was flung down the steps by a policeman, and was so stupefied that she could not see his number. "I saw," went on witness, "a bundle of clothes in a corner, and afterwards found that the bundle of clothes was Miss McMillan."

Dr. Amy Shepherd said she saw Mrs. Chapman jostled, but she could not identify defendant, and did not think he was the man.

For the Defence

The defendant, next called, said he had been seventeen years in the police force, and had an absolutely clean record. He was on duty at the cloak-room until called by Inspector Rogers, whom he followed to St. Stephen's Hall. He did not at any time go through the doors into the street, but stood inside the door. He exchanged no remarks with Mrs. Chapman, and could not say that he remembered her face. Nor did he hear her say, "I will take your number, 459A."

Inspector Rogers said that defendant was a man in whom he had explicit confidence. There were thirty-five to forty ladies present, and the door was closed. When the door was opened the ladies tried to force their way through. (Ladies in court, "Oh! Oh!") He said to Mrs. Chapman, "If you all go outside I will see that your cards are taken to as many members as you desire." One of the ladies replied, "We keep the likes of you."

Mrs. Chapman: Who was the constable on the door?—P.C. James, 237A.

Do you say that the assault was committed by James and not by defendant?—I don't admit that any assault was committed. If there had been, I wish you had informed me at the time.

"You Were Disorderly"

Why was I not allowed through?—You were disorderly persons.

You really suggest that I was a disorderly person?—Yes, you were. You forced your way in, and were disorderly when I saw you.

Do you suggest that Sir Edward Busk was a disorderly person?—Yes; and had I been there I should not have allowed them to enter.

I was told to go into the road if I wished to send up a card to a member. Do you usually ask ladies to stand in the road?—Yes, when they come in the same way as you did.

Replying to Mrs. Cavendish-Bentinck, witness said a certain number of ladies were allowed to stand in Westminster Hall if they came in a proper manner.

P.C. Alf James, 237A, said he was at his post on the door when he noticed a number of ladies approach. He felt rather anxious at seeing this crowd, and he closed the doors. Sir Edward Busk spoke to him, and as a result Sir Edward selected nine or ten ladies for the purpose of entering the hall. Those witness allowed to enter.

Mr. Bennett: Did you put your hands on Mrs. Chapman?—I put my hands on no lady. I had no occasion to.

P.C. Davis said that one of the ladies tried to stab him in the face with the sharp end of an umbrella. He did not see defendant leave the building.

Sergeant Swansea and Sergeant Cook both stated that they did not see defendant leave the building.

Addressing the court on behalf of the defendant, Mr. Bennett pointed out that that was not an enquiry into whether too much force had been used by the police in pushing people out of the House, but a question of whether P.C. 459A was the man who assaulted these ladies. An officer in the execution of his duty might upon occasion use some degree of force so that the orders given to him were carried out. It was most difficult in the heat of the moment to decide where sufficient force ended and violence began. In only two instances were witnesses able to say that they identified defendant at all, and the last witness, Dr. Shepherd, had said that she did not think it was the man at all.

Mrs. Chapman said that the men for the defence proved a little too much. "They proved that no hands were laid upon me."

The Magistrate said that it was quite obvious that on the evidence produced the summons must be dismissed.

CABINET MINISTER'S MEETING BROKEN UP

Brutal Treatment of Interrupters

On Monday last, Bank Holiday, Mr. Runciman was to have addressed an important meeting at Canford Manor, Wimborne. The meeting was held in a great marquee, holding about 3,000 people, and was presided over by Captain Guest, M.P.

The Chairman, during his speech, was interrupted once or twice on the subject of Woman's Suffrage by M.P.U. members of the audience, but the denouement was reserved for Mr. Runciman. Before that gentleman had been speaking for five minutes, a great report was heard—the men at the Press table almost sprung through the roof, and the occupants of the platform nearly shot off backwards. Before anyone could recover their shattered nerves, most of all Mr. Runciman, a voice rang out: "Don't forget that Mr. Runciman belongs to the Government that deals in Marconis and believes in White Slavery."

The interrupters were eight members of the M.P.U., and several of the W.S.P.U. Eleven sham pistols had been fired.

As soon as the 200 stewards, who were patrolling the meeting, had recovered their nerves enough, they made a dash at the intruders. These, with their chairs, for a time kept the oncoming crowd at bay; but numbers told in the long run, and Mr. Bethell, one of the M.P.U. members, was seized, the others retreating under cover of their "pistols."

Mr. Bethell was dragged over the wooden side of the pavilion by his ears and neck, and once outside, was thrown to the ground and kicked and struck unmercifully; pepper from a neighbouring refreshment stall was thrown in his face. He was then dragged to the edge of the park, a distance of about a quarter of a mile; where he was about to be thrown into the river. Here, however, he caught hold of one of his persecutors, and declared if one went into the river so would the other. Therefore, instead of that, Mr. Bethell's clothes were cut to pieces, his trousers were slit from the ankle right up to the top. He was then thrust out, and started for Wim-

borne Station, a distance of a mile and a quarter. During all that weary journey he was pursued by three stewards on bicycles, who would assail him, be beaten off, only to come on again a little later. Before his final exit from the park Mr. Bethell looked back, and saw a Territorial, one of his earlier assailants, who, thinking that matters were going too far, protested, and for so doing was treated after the manner of a football.

The other interrupters were able to withdraw "under cover of their pistols!" and, obtaining a conveyance, drove to the station. One of the women had a large quantity of hair torn out.

Meanwhile, the meeting had been abandoned.

MR. ASQUITH HECKLED

Though admission to the Fifth Annual Conference of the National Society for the Prevention of Consumption and other forms of Tuberculosis, held at the Wesleyan Central Hall, Westminster, was strictly by ticket only, and detectives from Scotland Yard carefully watched every arrival, Mr. Asquith, who spoke there on Monday last, did not escape heckling. Scarcely had he risen to his feet, when a man rose and shouted: "Mr. Asquith, do you not think it is rather illogical to come here—" (Cries of "Order.") As soon as the Stewards were able to reach him, the man walked quietly out.

During the next few minutes there were four other interruptions by men and women from various parts of the hall. Then a woman, quite near the platform, began to say something, and, when she was set upon by the stewards, resisted. This was the signal for her violent ejection, during which her hat was torn off, and she was very roughly treated. A man on the platform, seeing this, hastily strode to the front and shouted, "Do you call yourselves men? It is —!"

Mr. Asquith's allotted half hour of speech, before the serious business of the Conference began, must have been considerably encroached upon by these interruptions.

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INTERRUPTION AT ST. PAUL'S

The service at St. Paul's Cathedral was interrupted on Sunday last by a band of about forty Suffragists belonging to the Spiritual Militancy League. During the saying of the Litany, as the Minor Canon, the Rev. A. H. Strepton, was reciting the prayers "for prisoners and captives," the the Suffragists rose and chanted in harmony with the music:—

"Save Emmeline Pankhurst.

Spare her! Spare her!

Give her light and set her free.

Save her! Save her!

Hear us while we pray to Thee!"

They repeated the verse several times, each time rather more loudly. Vergers approached and hastily begged them to desist or to leave the building. This they finally did in an orderly manner. The incident was specially noticeable as many of the choristers are away on their holidays, so the voices of the choir were not nearly so powerful as usual.

INFANT MORTALITY.

The following letter from Lady Selborne appeared in the *Daily Telegraph*:—

Sir,—I would like to call the attention of your readers to the remarkably low rate of infant mortality that prevails in all countries which have granted votes to their women. Mr. John Burns mentioned that the upper classes in this country lose seventy-seven babies out of every 1,000 born. In Australia, in 1909—the last year for which I have the figures—the whole nation only lost seventy-two. That is to say, that the Australian mothers, with the whole work of the household on their shoulders, were more successful in keeping their babies alive than the well-to-do classes in England, who can afford to pay for servants to assist them. In New Zealand the result was still better, as they only lost sixty-two out of every 1,000 babies born.

This ought surely to dispel the idea that voting will unfit women for their proper work. The voting women are evidently the most skilful mothers in existence.—I am, yours very truly,

MAUD SELBORNE.

49, Mount Street.

A CORRECTION

We greatly regret that, owing to an oversight, acknowledgments were not made to the *Daily Sketch* for the loan of the excellent picture of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's arrest, which formed our front-piece last week. We now take the opportunity of offering our grateful thanks.

CAUSES OF INFANTILE MORTALITY

Discussion in the Conference—Mr. John Burns Attacks Married Women's Labour

The special interest of the English-speaking Conference on Infant Mortality, which met for two days at the Caxton Hall, and to which specialists on baby care came from every part of the British Empire and from the United States, was that throughout the medical problems were considered so largely from the woman's point of view. One had the feeling there, as at various other recent conferences, that the discussions could not go on like this, with this freedom and practical good sense, were it not for the gradual education that had been brought about by the woman's movement.

If the sight of the constables on guard at the entrance to the first meeting—policemen at a Baby Conference—emphasised the fact that Mr. John Burns feared the avenging ingenuity of the Suffragettes, his speech throughout was, to the militant mind, scattered with sentences which would have afforded suitable opportunities for interruption, as he stood there glowing in the narration of the health laws carried at the instigation of men and women experts, and too often spoiled in the making, and vaunting the plans which the Government had it in its mind to carry out, which also were matters of supreme concern to the women of England. The absence of any enthusiasm on the part of his audience, the conspicuously isolated hand claps which greeted his references to the Government, the Premier, and the Insurance Act were very marked.

Dr. Saleeby spoke the mind of many when later on he said that the House of Commons could not be trusted to consider the interests of an unrepresented class. The Insurance Act Amendment Committee had decided that the maternity benefit ought to be paid to the mother; the Foresters had protested that this would be an unwarrantable interference with married life, and there was little doubt that the Commons would be swayed by the views of the voters to reverse the wise decision of the Committee.

The Conference was specially remarkable for the freedom with which it discussed the ravages of syphilis among women and children, and its insistence that the time had gone past when this

could be hidden out of sight. One woman doctor at the end of a very practical and informative discussion spoke of the way in which through her professional life she had been tormented by the existence of a haunting but hidden menace which met her at every turn, and which she could never deal with in a practical way, and the intense relief of knowing that the veil had at last been lifted.

Syphilis, said Dr. Mott, was the greatest cause of infant mortality. It was appalling to think what a number of adults would be suffering from the effects of congenital syphilis if it were not so fatal to the embryo and to the offspring in early life. Something must be done to check the evil, but at present it was unpopular; it was not a matter of votes. When women obtained votes, he said, they might demand protection for themselves and their offspring. The municipal and political pillars of society would then be compelled to change their point of view—a forecast loudly cheered by the representative audience.

One doctor after another spoke in the same strain of the need for protecting the child and mother. The most pathetic words in medicine, said Dr. Ballantyne, were syphilis of the innocent.

In his hour-long presidential address, during which he dealt with every aspect of the question, Mr. Burns had aired his favourite theory that high infantile mortality was largely due to married women taking part in work outside their homes. He instanced the cases of Burnley and Battersea, both working-class districts, with similar financial and economic conditions. In Burnley, where too large a percentage of the mothers were at work, the infant mortality was 171 per thousand, while in Battersea, where the mothers remained at home, it was 83 per thousand. In Lancashire, again, the infant mortality where mothers worked, and where the children were therefore neglected, the infant mortality was double or treble what it was where women of the same class did not work. For at least four months before the child was born, and for a longer period after its birth, mothers should be mothers, and not machines.

Dealing with the question of the mother's health, a great deal was said of the necessity for securing care and sufficient nourishment for her, if the children were to have a chance in life, and an interesting discussion took place on the

value of exercise; the danger of work immediately before confinement. The feeling seemed to be that plenty of exercise was good, and reasonable work did no harm, but that certain sorts of work were distinctly dangerous. One speaker instanced the woman who had spent forty-three years of her life at mechanical work which required an endless repetition of four precise movements. Such work was bad for any woman, married or single.

Dr. Eric Pritchard, speaking from a wide experience of working women in the East End and in Marylebone, said certain sorts of work were beneficial. Charwomen, who spent half their days scrubbing, worked right up to the day of their confinement, and they were, par excellence, the mothers of healthy children.

The Medical Section devoted its last hours to the consideration of a paper by Dr. Barbara Sutherland, of Glasgow, on the working of the Maternity Benefit. It had, on the whole, been very satisfactory, she said, but there were three defects which demanded remedy: (1) Persons were included who should not be; (2) benefit was paid (usually in cash) to the husband, where he was insured; and (3) delay in payment was common.

She quoted frequent cases of abuse of the Maternity Benefit when paid to the father, and her stories were supplemented by a long list which Dr. Saleeby produced.

The clauses amending the Act were even then before Parliament, said Dr. Saleeby, and it was highly probable that unless the conference could prevent it, the House of Commons would decide on payment still being made to the father. He spoke in the strongest terms of abuses he had known to occur, and concluded by urging the Conference to strike a blow for the women whose interests were at stake, but who were politically unrepresented.

Miss Barnett, representing the Women's Co-operative Guild, said it was the spontaneous opinion of the working women of the country that the benefit should be paid to the mothers, and that all the decent men connected with the Guild supported that opinion.

The Conference, in the end, passed a resolution urging that the Maternity Benefit should be made the property of the mother both in practice and in law.

Another resolution called for the passage of legislation dealing with a pure supply of milk.

A WIFE'S INCOME TAX

In the House of Commons on Monday, August 4, Mr. Snowden asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer why, in view of his statement on October 9, 1912, that he would consider the question of amending the income-tax-law so as to obviate the necessity of imprisoning the husband for the non-payment of the tax on the wife's income over which he had no control, and his further statement to a deputation on June 10 last that the present state of the law on the matter was a humiliation against which married women were entitled to protest, he had not dealt with the matter in the Revenue Bill.

Mr. Lloyd George: I have already indicated the reasons which have made it expedient to limit the scope of the present Revenue Bill. I hope it will be possible to deal with the position of married women as regards income-tax in Committee on the Finance Bill.

Mr. Snowden: This year?

Mr. Lloyd George: Yes.

SWEATED WOMEN WORKERS

The Annual Report of the Women's Trade Union League, recently published, brings out very clearly two points. First, the many difficulties imposed on badly-paid women workers, and their constant liability to persecution by means of fines and unfair treatment at the hands of prejudiced managers. Second, the immense amount of valuable work carried on by a tiny band of devoted organisers, with very small funds at their disposal, and the vast amount needing to be done were there but workers and funds wherewith to do it.

The Sheltered Sex

Many complaints have reached the League, nearly all of them cases of hardship which are excessively difficult, in fact almost impossible, to get remedied under the Factory Acts, and many of which might be minimised, if not entirely done away with, by a little care and forethought on the part of the employer. Others refer to the infliction of excessive and entirely disproportionate fines. Of such complaints the following are some typical examples:—

"In a weaving mill, a girl, seventeen years old, who earned 2s. 8d. for a week's work of fifty-five hours, was fined a shilling for bad work."

"For talking at their work, girls were fined 2s. each."

"In a collar factory workers were charged 5d. for cotton, which they can buy outside for 3d., and were fined 2d. for leaving a needle in their work."

"Women packers, who worked on the ground floor, with the door open, sometimes hit their fingers instead of the nails, they are so cold."

"Girls stand all day in damp places, partly in the open air, and have their hands in cold water all day. Their hands are so covered with sores and chilblains as to be almost useless."

"In rooms full of fumes, girls have to eat lunch at the bench where they work."

Under such circumstances, there is great point in the complaint that there has been no real increase in the staff of women inspectors since 1908, although the number of women factory workers has increased from about 1,500,000 to nearly 2,000,000.

The League has a Legal Advice Bureau for women, which is largely concerned with questions of compensation.

WOMAN'S PLACE IS THE HOME!

A startling sidelight on the present system of domestic labour is afforded by the evidence of the prevalence of insanity among servants in the annual report of the Middlesex County Asylums published recently, which shows that of 343 female patients admitted during the year no fewer than 293 were either housewives or domestic servants.

Asked by a representative of the *Daily Citizen* to explain this astonishing proportion, a prominent specialist in mental diseases pointed out that the report showed the existence of a terrible amount of latent insanity which, in these cases of housewifery and domestic service, had been brought out by stress. "A poor man's wife suffers a heavy and ceaseless strain; she has so much continuous drudgery and so little to relieve its monotony that these figures are really hardly surprising."

And yet when women are employed in a fairly well-paid trade—the pit-brow women, for instance—men try to turn them out of it on the ground that it is too "strenuous!"

WOMEN IN WAR

An American correspondent informs us that during the recent revolution in Mexico, forty women, residents in the City of Durango, committed suicide during its occupation by rebels. The reason given is that their treatment at the hands of the victorious rebels, who seem to have given themselves up to the wildest excesses, was such as to make them prefer death to any further endurance of it.

And then they say that women should have no voice in deciding questions of peace and war, because it is men alone who have to bear the burden and suffering of war!

THE STREETS OF LONDON AND THE FOUR PS

(A Canadian lady, who has come over to see how she can help woman's suffrage, called on Friday to take out papers to sell in the streets; the following article contains some of her reflections on the old country.)

In days gone by our grandmothers, suffering instruction in deportment, were directed to improve each moment of leisure by practice of the four Ps of propriety. Repetition of the cabalistic formula—Papa, Potatoes, Prunes, and Prism would, it was explained, conduce to an agreeable, simpering expression of feature. And today one, who beside a busy London thoroughfare, occupies herself in offering opportunity to the passers-by to invest in copies of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* may daily with the thought that there are still four great Ps dominating the mind and deforming the expression of the English public, and that they name themselves Privilege, Prejudice, Pride, and Pre-occupation. For the last we may make allowance; alas! are we not all too prone to absorption in selfish cares and selfish pleasures. In pre-occupation is a kindly touch of nature.

But as to the others. More than half of this world that passes is the creature of privilege, possessed by the accident of birth of the powers and dignities and opportunities of citizenship. How few of these can ever pause to think of what disfranchisement signifies, for how few human beings possess a working imagination. Among the remainder are the women of privilege, women whose lines have fallen in such pleasant places that they are keen to deny the existence of other than pleasantness, at least for the deserving, in this best of all possible worlds. "I have had all the liberty I wanted all my life," said one of these, scorning the Suffragists; "I never wanted more than I had." So ego made her kosmos, and reigned therein.

Pride? Pride, doubtless, restrains many a hand which would else exchange a copper for a paper. For pride loathes unpopular causes and disinterested effort, is deadly afraid of such in fact. Turn Pride inside out, and you find Fear every time.

Prejudice! Why, certainly. For Prejudice is Pride's twin brother, and they always hunt in couples. Prejudice will not let Pride think of even enquiring into anything so unpopular as the Suffrage movement, and Pride would not permit Prejudice to approve of anything that women may do to gain the right to vote, even if she believed in that right herself. Everything that can be done in an unpopular cause is equally "unladylike" in the eyes of Pride and Prejudice.

But a woman buys a paper and tucks it away most carefully, "for fear I might lose it. And if I did someone else might read it," she adds, evidently meaning someone who needs enlightenment more.

And next comes a man who remarks casually, "If you don't look out, America will be before you—twelve States already." He is not quite exact in his facts, and why does he assume that we are not "looking out"? How on earth could we "look out" more? But he means well, and all paper-sellers are grateful for that.

The next purchaser hails from that fortunate country which is to be before us, and wants to know, "How your Cause is getting on here?" We tell him that we are rather new ourselves in this particular regiment, but we like enlistment when the fight is hottest. And he says, "Good for you!" and hurries away without revealing the name of his home State—enfranchised, or on the fence.

However the next purchaser, a kind-faced Englishman, is not too hurried to stop for a chat, in the course of which he lays down four propositions. First, that he always has believed women should have a vote. At least, widows and women rate-payers. And the question whether it is not really the working women who need it most, seems to open up a new idea to him. Second, that militancy is dreadfully blameable, and disastrous to the Cause, though he adds as an afterthought, they certainly never would have advertised the movement as they have without it. Third, that women are natural Conservatives; by which he seems to mean conservatives. So there is no argument about that. And, fourth, that the present situation is most tragic and distressful, which leaves no room for debate, either. He does not even want to read about it, but finally buys a paper, pledged to get some first-hand information.

The crowds hurry on, and one wonders, under the shadow of Queen Eleanor's Cross, what she would say could she see the England which so splendidly mourned her, imprisoning women as great-hearted as she under a statute bungled five hundred years ago by her husband's Norman-French scribes. For the chances are that where Queen Eleanor is the question is settled that women have souls, and perhaps they may even be persons within the meaning of the law.

But just now the woman selling button-hole bouquets agrees that business is dull, and that all who can may as well go home.

K. W.

THE PRISON COOK

The situation has become decidedly interesting. Prison cooks in England will soon be working "quarter time."—*Irish News*.

CORRESPONDENCE

LEGISLATION AFFECTING WOMEN

To the Editors of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

Dear Editors,—It would, I think, be desirable, and I am sure it would be interesting to your readers and the members of the Fellowship, if you were to give a more definite pronouncement upon what their attitude should be towards legislation that is in process of being turned into law, or only in the stage of preliminary consideration.

Do you think that all legislation that affects women at all should be opposed until women have the vote? Such a position would be entirely logical, and I should have a great deal of sympathy with it myself, but I do not think it would secure a general assent amongst suffragists, as nine-tenths of the legislation would have to be opposed.

But if that is not the position you take up, will you more fully explain why you are opposed in particular to the Mental Deficiency Bill, a Bill which has had a more general support from all parties than probably any other during the period of the present Parliament? After all, nearly all Bills affect women, and nearly all affect personal liberty.

I would also respectfully deprecate the tone in which you speak of the "proposals of certain doctors and endorsed by a section of the Press" with regard to a Royal Commission on Contagious disease. It is true that only a section of the Press published the appeal; that is not, perhaps, to be wondered at. It is an unpleasant subject, and, in any case, suffragists are accustomed to the omissions as well as the misrepresentations of the Press. But the appeal is not the appeal of "certain doctors," but of the whole medical profession, whose representatives at the meeting of the British Medical Association at Brighton have unanimously endorsed the appeal.

I do not think you can be aware that the first steps in this matter have been taken in Australia, with the full approval and assistance of the National Council of Women, a fact, I think, of very great significance and good omen, so I enclose an extract from the *British Medical Journal* of May 10, which may be of interest. That women and children, when they are afflicted, suffer from these diseases more intensely than men, should be at least a plea for your watching the movement with sympathy, and aiding it by all the means in your power. Will you, therefore, kindly define your position?—Yours, &c.,

ERNEST D. KIRBY, M.D.

Birmingham.

[Until women get the vote, all legislation affecting women is dangerous, and must be jealously scrutinised by women. Though we should not oppose the passage of a Bill definitely remedying any existing sex disability or inequality, we are unfavourable to the introduction of new laws concerning women at the present time, because we realise that their point of view is certain not to be given due weight. The reason for urging special circumspection with regard to the question of contagious diseases is that we anticipate the possibility of an attempt to re-impose the C. D. Acts or other similar legislation.]

Our objection to the Mental Deficiency Bill is on somewhat different lines. In the course of the agitation for woman suffrage, women have discovered the danger of giving to the executive authorities, such as the Home Office, wide optional powers over the liberty of the individual, and those who have gone into the question are of opinion that the Mental Deficiency Bill does this in a peculiarly dangerous manner. Doubtless, the Bill contains much that is of benefit, and owes its origin to an entirely disinterested and necessary agitation, but its provisions go beyond what is required, and are fraught with very grave risk.—Ed. *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.]

THE CAT AND MOUSE ACT

To the Editors of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

Dear Editors,—I hope that "On-looker's" remarks have been well studied by all who object to the Cat and Mouse Act. Certainly, the authorities find themselves now in a very difficult position. However, a civilised nation should not descend to the methods of the feline tribe when endeavouring to punish offenders, even if these were brutal murderers, instead of mere destroyers of property. Why, sportsmen extirpate even man-eating tigers in more humane fashion than Englishmen their fellow-countrywomen, whom jurymen recommend to mercy on account of the purity of their motives.

Nobody can deny that the working of the Cat and Mouse Act, in the exceptional case of the militants, resolves itself in practice into a process of slow murder. Yet, to quote from Chambers' Encyclopædia, "English law has in practice, according to Sir J. Stephen, been in a marked manner distinguished from the practice of the Continent by its aversion to execution by torture." Truly, English law has retrograded! It is now on a par with the execrated Forest Laws of William the Conqueror. Are the English people content that their legislation should retrogress in this way? That no hope should be held out for the repeal of the Cat and Mouse Act, although it is being proved to be a protracted death penalty in practice, causes one to ask such questions as these: Is England relapsing into barbarism? Or, has she never really emerged out of it? According to Jeremy Bentham, the idea of Capital punishment would naturally suggest itself in the infancy of a State. When any one had committed an offence, or disturbed the peace of society, the question would then first arise: "How shall we prevent these things?" And the answer most likely to occur to a set of barbarians would be: "Extirpate the offender, and give yourself no further trouble about him."

We are told that before the reform of our criminal code (1808-1823), the practice of the law used to be much less severe than the theory. This humane state of affairs seems to be reversed in the case of the militants. How much longer are we to retrogress?—Yours, &c.,

M. A. ANDERSON.

THE WEST END FLAT CASE

To the Editors of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

Dear Editors,—May I be allowed to tell you how grateful I am to you for having taken up the Queenie Gerald case so thoroughly. I trust sincerely you will not let it go until someone has been brought to book for it. It is surely one of the most flagrant and horrible cases which has ever come up in the English Law Courts, and the woman gets three months!

It is perfectly infamous that a woman like that should escape so lightly when Mrs. Pankhurst and our other splendid fighting women are being vindictively done to death. There must certainly be something which is being hushed up. England has lost all sense of justice, or she would never let such things be.—Yours sincerely,

M. C. WASHBURN FREUND.

Eversley, Hants.

DIVORCE REFORM

To the Editors of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

Dear Editors,—Your correspondent, C. King, in your issue of August 1 refers to the Government not discussing the Majority Report of the Royal Commission on Divorce. May I ask the attention of your correspondent to the Bill which was drafted by this Union and presented by one of its vice-presidents, Sir David Brynmor Jones, K.C., M.P., on July 8, and may I also ask any of your readers desirous of helping to give publicity to it to apply for it at this office, enclosing sixpence (post free)?—Yours, &c.,

A. HAMILTON, Secretary.

Divorce Law Reform Union, 39, St. James' Street.

JOHN BALL ON THE FELLOWSHIP

Dear Editors,—I have just been re-reading "A Dream of John Ball," and have come across a passage there from one of the speeches of John Ball, which is so appropriate to the work and aims of the Fellowship that I am sure your readers will be glad to be reminded of it.

John Ball says: "... London is a great and grievous City; and mayhap when ye come thither it shall seem to you over-great to deal with. ... Nevertheless, I say to you, remember the Fellowship, in the hope of which ye have this day conquered; and when ye come to London, be wise and wary, and that is as much as to say, be bold and hardy; for in these days are ye building a house which shall not be overthrown, and the world shall not be too great or too little to hold it; for indeed it shall be the world itself, set free from evil-doers for friends to dwell in ..."

"There is nought that can undo us except our own selves, and our hearkening to soft words from those who would slay us. They shall bid us go home and abide peacefully ... while they, the lords, and councillors, and lawyers, imagine, counsel, and remedy for us ... and if we hearken thereto we are undone indeed; for they shall fall upon our peace with war. ... Therefore be ye bold, and again bold, and thrice bold! Grip the bow, handle the staff, draw the sword, and set on in the name of the Fellowship!"—Yours, &c.,

MARGARETTA STEPHEN.

The Men's Political Union ask us to acknowledge with thanks an anonymous donation of 10s., sent to them under the initials "L. C. R.," with the request that it should be acknowledged in *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge
President: Mrs. Cecil Chapman

Now that so many are sacrificing both their holidays and their health in the present fight for justice, it is felt that no one can enjoy any change of scene unless it is combined with suffrage work in some form or other. Our members will surely give up a couple of hours a week at least to selling VOTES FOR WOMEN and distributing leaflets in their nearest town. Even where the sale is not very brisk, the mere fact of their standing there as silent argument for the vote will have a good moral effect on those that pass. One member, who is near no town, goes up to char-a-bancs of sight-seeing tourists, where teas are served, and scarcely a day passes without her meeting some "friend in the cause" to reward her.

Then, N.C.S. members need not be reminded that evenings or wet days are best spent in making suitable Christmas gifts, to be sold at the Bazaar, beginning of December, and there is no time like the present for getting to work. It is also necessary to bear in mind that you should only make for others what you would gladly buy for yourself, and that our Bazaar is to furnish would-be purchasers not only with "something to give So-and-so," but with "just the very thing for So-and-so."

Last, but not least, no opportunity must be lost of denouncing what the Liberal organ now calls "McKenna's Act," known to us as the Cat and Mouse. Those who do not dissociate themselves from this infamy by exposing it, are tacitly acquiescing in the crime, and indirectly assuming responsibility for it. Many who cannot speak in public can yet get letters inserted in, at any rate, their local papers, if not in the more important dailies.

The less we do, the greater the burden we place on the shoulders of others.

IN THE COURTS

Wednesday, July 30.—At the Liverpool Quarter Sessions, charged with placing a bomb in the basement of the Liverpool Exchange Buildings, Mrs. Edith Rigby; sentenced to nine months' hard labour.

At Manchester, before the Stipendiary Magistrate, charged with blowing up a railway carriage on sidings, Mr. and Mrs. Baines and their son, and Miss Wallwork; case adjourned for eight days.

Friday, August 1.—At the Bow Street Police Court, before Sir J. Dickinson, charged with incitement, Allan Clark; bound over and in default two months' imprisonment. Sureties found on their being reduced.

Saturday, August 2.—At the Bow Street Police Court, before Sir J. Dickinson, charged with obstruction, Miss Gertrude Ansell; fined 40s. and 50s. damage, or one month's imprisonment; fine not paid.

Tuesday, August 5.—At Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Graham Campbell, charged with assaulting Mrs. Cavendish-Bentick and Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Police-constable H. Trudgell, 459A; adjourned.

Wednesday, August 6.—At Bow Street Police Court; summons against P.C. Trudgell; dismissed.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed in the Press to Suffragists during the week:—

Thursday, July 31.—Contents damaged of letter-box at the corner of Parliament and Bridge Streets, Westminster.

Saturday, August 2.—Six greens at the Ladyhill Golf Course, badly cut.

Tuesday, August 5.—Residence of the late Sir George Newnes (unoccupied) at Lynton, North Devon, destroyed by fire; damage estimated at £10,000.

Attempt to fire large country house, in course of construction, at Woldingham, Surrey; staircase destroyed.

COMING EVENTS

The Actresses' Franchise League are holding a series of meetings in Hyde Park on Sundays at 6 p.m. during the months of August and September. The speakers next Sunday will be Mrs. Alice Chapin, Mrs. Madeleine Lucette Ryley, Miss Inez Bensusan, and Miss Muriel Matters.

Next Sunday a demonstration will take place in Trafalgar Square at 4 p.m. to protest against the treatment of George Lansbury. It is being organised by the Free Speech Defence League and Daily Herald League.

OUR COMMON HUMANITY

We are indebted to the Rev. E. H. Taylor, Vicar of Enstead, Cromer, for the notes of a sermon recently preached by him on the text: "There can be no male and female, for ye are all one man in Christ Jesus." (Gal. iii. 28. R.V.)

This truth, he says, "lies at the root of Christianity, and is clearly set forth in the teaching of its Founder, though unfortunately, the Church in later days has done much to obscure it. As mankind has risen to an appreciation of its meaning, so has womankind risen to its true position. The women who are fighting for enfranchisement know that the issue is a moral and spiritual one, and that upon the vote depends the purity of our national life no less than the elevation of womanhood itself."

Accounting for the attitude of the clergy and ministers of religion who hold back from taking part in the fight, Mr. Taylor says, "Two words explain it—Fear and Dreadness. Though women are imprisoned and tortured in a way that resembles the barbarity of the Middle Ages, yet the clergy are afraid to raise a voice in protest. Years ago the clergy were afraid of the privileged classes, and joined with them against the masses. To-day they have lost the masses. They still have the women. But when the women have won their victory, and have time to consider the meaning of this fear, the clergy may awake to find that they have lost the masses of the women just as they have lost the masses of the men. Further, many of them care not; though this barbarity is taking place in our midst, they care not. Is it any wonder that to-day earnest and intelligent people are looking elsewhere than to the churches for a light and life they feel the churches have no power to give?"

"The early Christian martyrs died for Truth and Righteousness, yet how foolish their action must have seemed to the great heathen world around them! Had there been newspapers in those days, we can imagine what the leading articles would have had to say. But they won in the end, and those who are fighting for the Cause of Womanhood to-day will likewise triumph."

THE BIOLOGICAL ARGUMENT AGAIN

We advise those of our readers who are in search of a little mild amusement to turn to that apparently unlikely place, the current number of *Science Progress*. Dr. W. S. Pembrey, biologist and lecturer in physiology, there gives expression to his views on the proper place of women. The old-fashioned view of women's place in nature is, he declares, the one supported by biological knowledge. The slur cast upon our Victorian mothers has not been properly resented. It is true that they did not glory in competing in mental and physical contests with men, but they could and did bear large and healthy families.

"The so-called higher education of

women," he asserts, "is not a good ideal for either woman, man, or the State. Education at a University for three or four years makes a considerable demand upon the bodily, mental, and pecuniary resources of the woman, and there is little doubt that these would be more useful to all concerned if they were devoted to, or reserved for, marriage."

We leave it to our readers to decide which they prefer—Dr. Pembrey's ideal of woman as a mere breeding machine, or the Suffragist's ideal of woman as a rational human being, with an individuality and personality which she is bound to develop every whit as much as a man is bound to develop his.

INTRODUCTION OF "VOTES FOR WOMEN" TO A PRIMITIVE TOWN

The following poem was sent to us by two VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellows, who are having great success as paper-sellers:—

One morning, at the break of day,
We sallied forth, and, chalk in hand,
We painted white the town of P—,
We painted brown the sand.
Not very awful were the words
Our passing left behind—
"Buy Votes, a penny," was the bomb
The policeman came to find.

One said to us, in accents fierce:
"Just tell me, if you can,
Of what is woman made?" Said we,
"Of substance like the man."
"Of substance like a man," quoth he
(For 'twas a he, of course).
"Of a spare rib, I think you mean,"
And argued himself hoarse.

But we, undaunted, waited till
His wrath began to sink.
He waved away our paper—
Kept his penny for a drink.
"Buy Votes!" said one. "I'd rather see

Such women thrashed!" And slow
I turned my head and looked at him—
"Of course, not you, you know."

That afternoon we sallied forth,
Armed with six dozen VOTES—
But we missed some priceless comments,
For we hadn't time for notes.
Some few looked scorn they could not vent,

With nose in air,
Some few, with pitying smile,
Said, "We don't think you're doing right!"

And all the while
It is for these we fight.

But almost all were friends, and kind,
And very many keen,
So, in two hours, our papers sold,
We left that happy scene
Of hopeful work and glad endeavour,
Knowing our labours would find their thanks

In those who would come to swell the ranks,
And the Cause would go on for ever.

SUFFRAGISTS UNDER THE CAT AND MOUSE ACT

Name.	Sentenced.	Released.	Re-arrested.
Miss Stevenson	March 5	April 29	Missing
Mr. Franklin	" 8	" 28	"
Mrs. Pankhurst	April 3	(1) April 12	May 26
		(2) May 30	June 14
		(3) June 16	July 21
		(4) July 24	"
		April 12	Missing
Miss Brady	April 5	"	"
Miss Dean	"	"	"
*Miss Annie Bell	April 22	(1) April 29	May 18
		(2) May 22	July 15
		(3) Aug. 2	"
		(1) May 12	July 10
		(2) July 20	"
*Mrs. Baines	May 5	May 23	Missing
Miss Thomson (Scotch) ..	May 19	(1) May 24	June 12
Miss A. Scott ..	"	(2) June 16	Missing
		May 25	"
Miss Hudson ..	"	June 18	"
Mrs. Palmer (Irish)	May 26	"	"
Mrs. Ryan ..	"	"	"
Miss Walsh ..	"	"	"
Miss Kenney	June 17	(1) June 21	July 2
		(2) July 5	July 14
		(3) July 18	July 28
		(4) Aug. 1	"
		June 25	"
Miss Kerr	"	(1) June 23	July 9
Mrs. Sanders	"	(2) July 11	"
		(1) June 21	July 2
Miss Barrett	"	(2) July 5	July 17
		(3) July 21	"
		June 21	July 2
Miss Lake	"	(1) June 21	June 29
Miss Lennox	"	(2) July 3	"
		June 23	Missing
Mr. Clayton	"	June 27	"
Mrs. Shaw	June 21	July 8	July 12
*Miss Marion	July 3	(1) July 7	"
		(2) July 17	Missing
		July 10	"
Miss Given	"	(1) July 12	July 27
Miss Sylvia Pankhurst ..	July 8	(2) Aug. 1	"
		June 17	Missing
Miss Lenton	Com. for trial, June 9	(1) June 12	July 17
*Miss Mary Richardson ..	July 8	(2) July 23	July 29
		(3) Aug. 3	"
		July 18	"
Mrs. Mackworth	July 11	(1) July 18	July 24
Mrs. Wyan	July 15	(2) July 29	"
		(1) July 20	Aug. 1
Mr. Robson Paige	July 15	(2) Aug. 6	"
		(1) July 16	July 17
Mrs. Rigby	Remanded July 10	(2) July 22	July 29
	Sentenced July 30	July 28	"
Miss Kathleen Nicholson ..	July 22	July 29	"
Miss Florence Ward ..	"	"	"
Miss Nellie Hall	"	"	"
Miss Louisa Shepherd ..	"	"	"
"Eliza"	"	"	"
Miss Mary Gray	"	July 28	"
Mr. Harry Johnson	July 23	July 27	Missing
Mrs. Chalmers Smith ..	On remand	July 29	"
Mr. George Lansbury ..	July 30	Aug. 2	"

* Arrested on another charge.

† Fine paid anonymously.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Voters
Association,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise
Association,
48, Dover Street, W.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage
Societies,
14, St. James' Street, S.W.

Forward Cymric Suffrage Union,
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmby View, Upper Clapton.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 13, Buckingham Street, W.C.

Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St.,
Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Govern-
ment Association,
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
23, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman
Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Raffles.

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
60, West Street, Hoxham.

Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,
28, St. Paul's Chambers, Fudge Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.

Munster Women's Franchise League,
83, Grand Parade, Cork.

National Industrial and Professional
Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League,
Bank Buildings, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage
Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman
Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

People's Suffrage Federation,
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman
Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage,
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.E.

Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.

Suffrage Atelier,
6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club,
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Com-
mittee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

Votes for Women Fellowship,
47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage
Society,
83, Sutherland Avenue, W.

Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingway, W.C.

Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Marlborough Road, Lee, S.E.

Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

Single insertion, 24 words or less 2s.
1d. per word for every additional word
(Four insertions for the price of three.)

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

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- 5.—To deal as far as possible with the firms that advertise in VOTES FOR WOMEN.
- 6.—To canvass newsagents with the purpose of securing the display of VOTES FOR WOMEN posters.
- 7.—To secure new members for the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship.
- 8.—To contribute to the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship Fund, for various purposes of development, including the display of posters.
- 9.—To extend by other methods of service the influence of the Fellowship and the circulation of the paper.

Objects.—To dispel the ignorance that exists in the mind of the public with regard to the "Votes for Women" agitation.

To tell the true story of the Movement, both in its constitutional and militant development, and also to show the causes that have produced and are still fomenting the present revolt.

To educate and arouse opinion throughout the country, and rally sympathy and support to the fighters in this campaign for human liberty; to stimulate strenuous opposition to the Government's policy of futile and wicked coercion, and to persuade all who love justice and liberty to bring pressure upon the King's ministers to carry out the spirit of the British Constitution, and to concede the just and

reasonable demand of women to be included in the body politic.

Methods.—Active co-operation, by one or all of the various forms of service enumerated on the opposite page, with the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN, so that in fellowship of spirit and unity of purpose the common aim as stated above may be achieved.

The "Votes for Women" Fellowship is not a Suffrage Society, but an association of friends who desire to work together for the accomplishment of a very distinct and definite purpose. It does not compete in any way with any Suffrage organization. Membership is open to men and women who belong to any of the Suffrage societies, both militant and non-militant, and also to men and women who are not hitherto connected with the Suffrage movement or committed to any Suffrage party or policy. Commencing in 1914, there will be a minimum entrance fee of 1s., and also a minimum annual subscription of 1s., due in January of each year.

Just as the Fellowship itself does not compete with any existing organization, so VOTES FOR WOMEN does not compete with any existing Suffrage paper. It serves a different though complementary purpose. As a paper independent of all Suffrage societies, it addresses itself to the outside public, presents a catholic view of the Woman's Movement, and appeals to every class and section of the community. Its wide circulation must result in more recruits for the various battalions of the Suffrage army and a greater demand of the official publications of the great militant and non-militant Unions.

The Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN give their services to the paper without remuneration of any kind. That service is their contribution to the Suffrage Movement as a whole. They are pledged to devote any financial profits that may accrue to the further development of the paper.

Please enrol me as a member of the "Votes for Women" Fellowship.

Name

(Please state whether Mrs., Miss, or Esq., etc.)

Full Address

* The above, in the form of a six-page card, will be sent to any reader of "Votes for Women" on application to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

LADY WANTED, to do work of small country house, not as one of family. Fond of reading, walking and cycling; help for rough work; very quiet place. £25.—Apply Box 422, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

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